

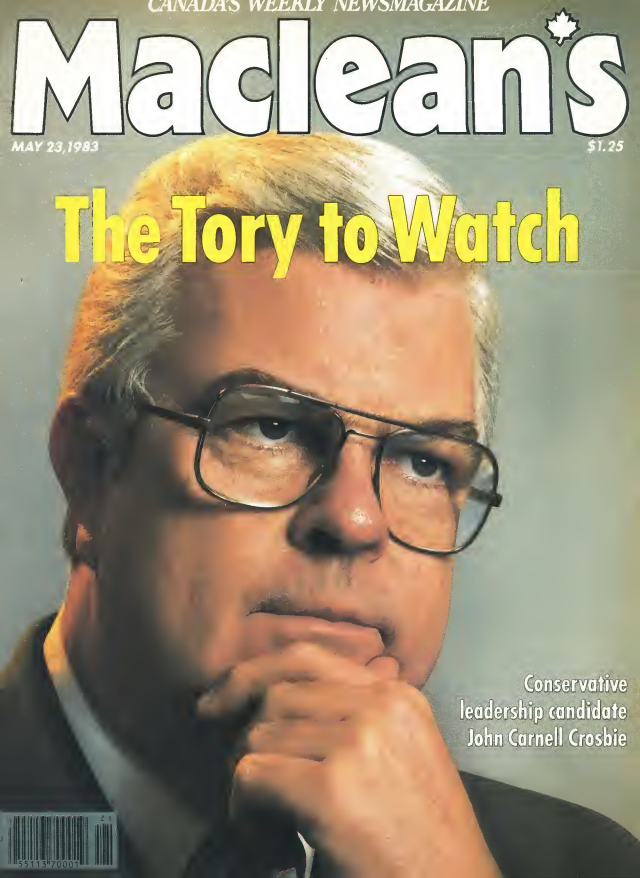
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MAY 23, 1983

\$1.25

The Tory to Watch

A close-up portrait of John Carnell Crosbie, a man with grey hair and glasses, resting his chin on his hand in a thoughtful pose. He is wearing a dark suit jacket over a light-colored shirt.

Conservative
leadership candidate
John Carnell Crosbie



City Lights



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Maclean's

MAY 12, 1991 VOL. 9 NO. 20

COVER

The Tory to watch

Newfoundland's John Carroll Crossbie started the campaign for the Conservative leadership as a long shot, but his strength as a candidate over the past two months has become the surprise of the race to date. Accompanied by his wife, Jane, and guided by a sophisticated political machine, Crossbie's ambition is anything but a Newfie joke. — **Page 19**

COURTESY OF SEAN WILSON/MAGNET



The Thatcher factor

As they prepared for an election, Britain's Tories could count on one force that overshadows the party's women: performance. Margaret Thatcher. — **Page 20**



Warnings from the bears

The welcome, headstrong performance of the stock markets is soon by some pessimists as a blowoff before a collapse. Their advice: sell everything. — **Page 49**



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Future crime

A Vancouver criminologist has been speculating on crimes of the 21st century. Among his predictions: body-snatching and nuclear-armed terrorism. — **Page 37**

The romantic revolution

Call it steamy, spicy or sensuality, but sex has taken over romance fiction, which is now the fastest-growing area of the paperback business. — **Page 49**



Six weeks ago, when John Creble first outlined his portion of opening up the border to such free trade with the United States, he managed to inject into the Tory leadership campaign what is still its most significant issue. He also took a risk. Though the flames of the fiercely nationalist and largely anti-American 1970s have become embers, they can be fanned anew—as Creble discovered when even some

of his own supporters expressed their dismay. But he did not back off. Last week, in an interview with *Maclean's* National Editor Jane O'Hara and Senior Writer Susan Riley, Creble said that Canadians "have to be aligned with one of the major economic power blocs—the United States, the European Community or Japan." And he left no doubt about his preference:

"We need to sit down with the Americans and see what arrangements we can work out." That mentality has been apparent for at least a decade. A closer

relationship would not involve a loss of sovereignty. It would indeed be an exercise in sovereignty. In the end, Canadians may decide simply to maintain the status quo. But Creble has at least provided us with the opportunity to debate openly one of the most fundamental aspects of our economic future.

Aboard the campaign bus with Creble was Riley, a veteran Canadian political reporter. "There was a confident ease among the Creble writers that they are on the move," said Riley. Outlined Ottawa Bureau Chief Carol Gear, who reported and wrote our cover package with Riley. "It is still a long way to June 11." The story, drafted by O'Hara, researched by Cindy Barrett and designed by Art Director Nick Burnett and Assistant Art Director John Agnew, appears on page 18.

Kevin Doyle

MAY 1993

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Taxing thoughts

I would like to congratulate Maclean's for its courage in publishing the May 16 cover story presenting taxes in Canadian taxation (A Big Budget for Shameless). Taxmen between left and right ideologies is worldwide. The international backing between left and right at all levels of Canadian politics, however, is largely unproductive and reduces our chances of finding creative solutions or compromises to the forces that divide us. The Maclean's piece was a welcome exception to reportage that tends to focus on exotic personalities, intrigues in high places and the classic rivalry of left or right positions. To the publishers, editors and writers of Maclean's keep up the good work. We need you.

—DAVID KROENKE
Vancouver

I enjoyed Maclean's coverage on taxes, especially the question of whether the system is fair, and I thanked you for pointing out instances where the large corporation or individual seems to be getting the tax breaks. However, I think the table comparing tax liability on income from different sources, namely dividends vs. employment, is misleading (At Tax Time, Money Talks) in that it ignores the fact that as individual revenue is divided in reporting their share the corporation's after-tax income. Therefore, although the dividend recipient pays a much lower rate in your example, we must remember that the dividend tax credit has been restored in recognition by the system that the cor-



poration that issued the dividend has already paid that amount in taxes for him.

—TERRY ARMSTRONG
Sudbury, Ont.

I resent the implication that wealthy investors are somehow getting an unfair tax break. I use it as a just reward. As an investor, I have already paid tax on the money I invest because I moved it from fully taxed savings. If by my combination of good judgment and successful risk-taking these invested dollars earn me money, I expect to pay tax at a lower rate. After all, I had the discipline to save from my after-tax earnings. I acquired the knowledge to make investment decisions and I took the risks. Thousands like me use their strength, wit, energy and drive to improve their lot.

—ELIAN PINKAS
Halifax

Your article on the laws of our tax system (Canada's Tax System: Is It Fair?) will elicit many a cheer I take note, however, with its two-way acceptance of the philosophy that underlies the argument that taxes unproved or unguaranteed revenue tax "speculators." This school of thinking rests on the assumption that all wealth belongs in the first instance to the state, portions of which are permitted to be left in the hands of private citizens in the form of "foreign reserves." My understanding is that the reverse is, or should be, the case: that wealth belongs to the people, who freely decide through their elected representatives to give up portions to finance desirable common objectives. The growing desire of people to understand this basic difference is what makes it easy for bureaucrats and big-spending governments to persecute taxpayers that they should be grateful for any spare supports they overlook by way of "foreign reserves."

—J.B. PHILLIPS
Ottawa

PAGES

APPOINTMENT: Walter Sarna Tarasoff, 40, former president of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and chairman of the civil liberties section of the Canadian Bar Association, is the Ontario Court of Appeal. Tarasoff was the first director of the Institute for Rights Institute at the University of Ottawa, established in 1982, and he led several boards of inquiry for the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

CONVERTED: RCMP Sgt. Abide Yelle, 40, the head of administration in New Brunswick who was the officer in charge of G Section, a special unit created to combat Quebec terrorism in the 1970s, of the theft of the Parti Quebecois membership list, by Supreme Judge J. F. Roy Asselin, in Montreal. Yelle is the first Montrealer to be convicted of theft as a result of a royal commission inquiry into alleged wrongdoing in the 1970s. Nine other officers bear the same charge.

PARDONED: Eugenio Martines, 60, one of the few men who broke into Democratic Party headquarters in the Victoria Hotel in place of a wiring on the telephone of Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien on June 16, 1978, by President Ronald Reagan, announced by Acting Public Attorney David Stephenson.

ABANDONED: Keenel Kujala, the Stuttgart dealer who sold the forged Hitler diaries to former *Stereo Reporter* Gerd Heidemann for \$3.75 million, by West German police. Kujala surrendered voluntarily and in full knowledge of the warrant against him, said his lawyer, Rolf Schmidt-Schultz. Kujala denied press allegations that he forged the diaries, claiming that he had always been a collector of their authenticity.

DEED: Miguel Alemán, 60, the first revolutionary civilian president of Mexico (1946-1952), of a heart attack, in Mexico City. Alemán, the son of a revolutionary general, was a champion of Mexican labor and, after he became president, he changed the name of the official government party from the National Revolutionary Party to the Institutional Revolutionary Party. Credited with creating modern Mexico, Alemán was instrumental in bringing the Olympic Games to Mexico City in 1968.

DEED: Francis Martin (Frank) Turner, 70, the well-known Toronto-based boxer and wrestling promoter who was responsible for the Mahanood Al-George Chavira fight at Maple Leaf Gardens in 1966, of cardiac arrest, in Hong Kong.

Indians' rights: no more, no less

Barbara Amiel's column *This Land Is Whose Land?* (April 31) is based on a misinformed conception of the current state of Indian affairs in Canada. In her argument Amiel has reviled and defamed a brave man. She seems unaware that the 602 Indian bands in Canada are pursuing economic development programs on their more than 2,000 reserves and settlements and that the enterprises constituting these programs often are unrelated to the hunting, logging and trapping activities that she condemns because they are characteristic of "Stone Age culture." It is true that despite these development programs, some of which are still in the initial stages, social assistance or welfare payments to Indians on reserves remain much higher proportionately than payments to non-Indians. But Amiel's wage solution is unacceptable on several grounds. First, there is inequity in her argument the abuses and uneven assumption that Indians in the city encounter fewer social problems such as suicide, unemployment, spousal and alcoholism than Indians on reserves. Second, it is hard to understand why the industrial economy of mainstream Canada will improve the Indians' lot when that economy during the early 1980s has failed more Canadians than at any other time since the 1930s. If seriously interested in the reduction of social problems, Amiel should demand her countrymen the Indians to greater self-government. Her article has given exposure to the unfriendliness to Indians that lies at the root of some of these problems.

—MICHAEL DAVIDSON
Board of Directors,
Canadian Association in Support of the
Native Peoples,
Toronto

I agree with Barbara Amiel's article *This Land Is Whose Land?* The abolition of the Indians' reservations is long past due. But because my great-grandfather sold his land for a handful of beads or lost it in a poker game, a real estate surge or a war, should I demand restitution today? Canada is a country of minorities, and the Indian minority deserves the same rights as any other Canadian ethnic group. No more, no less. Their past is part of their heritage—it should not be their present!

—NANCY WEATHERALL,
Brampton, Ont.

I was shocked by Barbara Amiel's scoldish column in the April 11 issue. It is grossly unfair to let a few Indians in the "Stone Age" Many of those cultures were comparable to European cultures in terms of social, artistic and scientific achievement. If anything is

Stone Age, it's Amiel's consciousness of Indian issues. She seems to imply that all of the Indians' problems can be traced back to their culture. How does she explain the Indians' struggle to preserve their culture if it is so inferior? If she were to find out, I think she would find that the reason so many Indians have moved to cities is because there are virtually no opportunities on reserves, not because they are tired of being Indians. If anything has been a failure, it has been the government's sorry policy of trying to make Indians into white men for so long. My main-

ing that the only "preamble solution" is total assimilation. Amiel undermines the good faith that has been built up between Indian and white and denies the efforts of the Indian people who are trying to stand on their own feet in Canadian society. Worst of all, her attempt to masquerade as an expert on Indian issues is comical. The shallowness of her article does nothing but discredit Maclean's coverage of Indians.

—ALEXANDER STANLEY
Head of Indian Studies,
Saskatchewan Indian Federation College,
Regina



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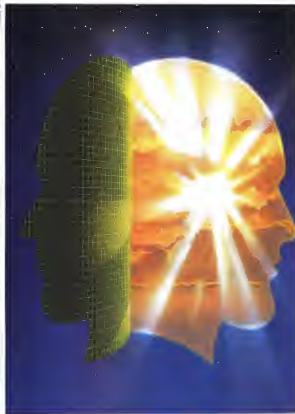
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DATELINE ARGENTINA

A civilian solution?



Peronists rally for support: 'military traitors to the firing squad'

By Douglas Tweeddale

One year after the Falklands War political posters and anti-government signs have replaced the blue-and-white flags and patriotic banners that lined the streets of Buenos Aires during the 10-week conflict between Britain and Argentina. Calle Florida, the capital's main pedestrian mall, is clogged with voter registration tables at which young volunteers try to convince passers-by that their party is more astutish than the next. If there is one sentiment that unites Argentines, it is that, after seven years of rule by a harsh military regime, the prospect of a return to democracy is the only positive result of the tragic South Atlantic war. The military—disgraced and deeply divided after its Falklands defeat—last March announced that elections will be held at the end of October and that it will turn over power to a civilian government in early next year.

The hope engendered by the political reawakening competes with the Argentines' deep-rooted skepticism about the political future of their country. Explained Manuel Alvarez, 37, a waiter who must hold down two jobs in order to support his wife and six children: "How can I get excited about democracy when we have over 800 per cent inflation and all the politicians can do is quibble among themselves? Already my customers are asking how long the civil-

ian government will last before the next coup."

The skepticism extends to the political insiders. Dante Lora is a 38-year-old politician with the well-known Peronist party which is favored to win the elections. Said Lora of the Argentine attitude toward politics: "The experience of the past 10 years has been so full of surprises, all of them bad, that logically most people have become very cynical. Argentines have lost faith in business, politics, the church and the military—the basic institutions of society." For now, most of that cynicism is directed at the country's armed forces. They are widely accused of running the economy, of violating human rights, of corruption and of dragging Argentina into the Falklands debacle, which cost 800 Argentine lives and nearly \$1 billion in equipment costs alone. The depth of anger toward the military was clearly demonstrated last month when the powerful unions staged a protest rally. More than 30,000 workers defied police to march three kilometers through downtown Buenos Aires chanting: "Military traitors to the firing squad!"

The ill-fated Falklands War, which placed the disputed islands more firmly than ever under British control, remains the focal point of antiauthoritarian sentiment. One year later most civilians have only a fuzzy idea of how and why the war was fought. Observed Patricia Viquez, a 35-year-old office worker:

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"We were totally deceived. The government told us we were winning the war when actually it was lost before it began." Like most Argentines, Vangaris has heard stories about the war from returned soldiers—about fool shortages, inadequate weapons, poor leadership, cowardly officers, even officers who stole the food of the troops or who paraded them by forcing them to stand barefoot in icy water. Cautelada Vargas, echoing the popular sentiment: "It is almost time for those who were responsible to be punished."

The soldiers who returned from the Falklands remain a painful reminder of a war that most Argentines prefer to forget. After newspaper military authorities turned them away, a group of former conscripts set up the Malvinas Veterans' Centre to help these soldiers. Explains the centre's organizer, 36-year-old Jorge Vangaris: "We were not against the war but we feel we were let down by the officers. Now we want the army to assume responsibility for what it started, to at least recognize the problems that the war caused for thousands of soldiers who have come back injured or without a job."

It is difficult, even within the armed forces, to find a supporter of Argentina's war action. Even the night-ten have fallen. Lt. Gen. Carlos Nicolaides lost much sentiment for former president Leopoldo Galtieri, who made the decision to invade the islands, to 45 days in military jail for saying in a newspaper interview that subordinate officers should have fought harder. If these subordinates have their way, Galtieri could face a court martial and stiff sentences. But the former strongman refuses to be made a scapegoat. He has threatened to release "damaging" information if he is prosecuted. (Argentines speculate that this could involve military corruption, nepotism and the role played by various other officers in the Falklands War.)

With internal dissension weakening the military government politically, many Argentines are now taking advantage of liberalization to press other complaints. Sociologist Maria del Carmen Ara, 36, says the Falklands War ignited dissent. "It provided enthusiasm to let out the anger people had built up toward the military's policies," she explained. To illustrate her point Ara cited the growing number of people demanding information about Argentina's most explosive issue—the estimated 15,000 missing people who are believed to have been abducted and killed by government security forces in their campaign against leftists after the 1976 military coup, the seventh coup since 1930.

Until last month the military regime had refused to account for the disappearances, despite the grisly disclosures



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Relatives of missing persons demonstrate; Falklands War veterans (below); an explosive mood

in recent months of more than 1,500 unidentified bodies in cemeteries around the country. But the moment of truth came on April 28 when the junta, in a 45-minute televised statement, issued a decree saying that the military was responsible for the operations against the leftists and that the interior ministry would provide a list of all the requests about missing people received since 1978. Most disturbing to Argentines is that the number of requests differs substantially from the number of people who actually disappeared. Court suits for information on some 6,000 missing people are pending, but human rights groups estimate that the number could be as high as 30,000. The long-awaited accounting, which stated that the actions of all soldiers and of the police in the campaign were "acts of service," appeared to pave the way for a new law that the junta is preparing—a law that would require military courts to handle any prosecution related to the anti-subversive campaigns. Military officers, fearful of retribution under a future civilian government, are anxious to have that law in place. Said 1980 Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel: "The military are going to try to grant themselves an amnesty for the crimes they committed, but that is immoral and totally absurd."

While human rights and the fallout over the war are a source of major privation, Argentina's sagging economy is also a cause of widespread resentment toward the military and a source of deep-rooted pessimism about the immediate future. Since the Falklands War, inflation—the highest in the

world—has not dropped below 31 per cent a month, and some experts predict an annual rate of 400 per cent in 2003. The peso continues to lose value. Three years ago it was less than 1,000 to the dollar, now it is more than 300,000 to the dollar and more than 150,000 on the black market. The average per capita income is the equivalent of \$2,000 a year. Retail prices alone last year rose by 318 per cent. Forty per cent of the



expectations being created for the next government—that democracy will miraculously solve everything—cannot be met, no matter who wins the elections." Luis's own party, once run with an iron hand by three-time president Juan Perón, is now split into four widely divergent factions, which are at odds over who will replace the legendary leader. Perón's third wife, Isabel, 82, who took over the presidency when her husband died of severe influenza in 1974, retains surprising influence in the party despite her disastrous handling of the country prior to the 1976 coup. To date, she has made no official move to re-enter the political fray from her exile in Madrid, but many assume believe that she will be tempted to return by the near certainty that the Peronists, with their traditionally strong union backing, will win at the polls.

With the first elections in 30 years only five months away, Argentina faces the future with a paradoxical mixture of hope and despair. According to Luis, the incoming government, in order to stay in power and steer Argentina toward its potential, will have to be strong, self-squared and, above all, have the willpower and backing necessary to challenge and control the military, who have been in government for 36 of the past 60 years. Yet economist Albia believes that such support is by no means assured. "People have become very cynical about Argentine politicians, most of whom became critics of the military only at the eleventh hour," she explained. "Still," she added, "democracy probably will not work either—but it is the only hope we have." ☐

country's industry is killed by recession, unemployment is at a record 15 per cent, and the central banks in several months behind schedule in repaying Argentina's monstrous \$38-billion foreign debt, the world's third largest. Argentines, once proud of their country's reputation as the breadbasket of South America, shamefully point to the appearance of soup kitchens in Buenos Aires, where more than 40 per cent of the country's 28 million people live.

Given the magnitude of Argentina's problems, politicians are not ecstatic about the country they will inherit when the military steps down. Observed President Luis: "Let us not fool ourselves. Everyone knows that the

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B.C.'s war on pornography

When anarchists torched two Vancouver-area outlets of *Bad Hot Video* last Nov. 22, the B.C. Federation of Women, representing a wide political spectrum of 36 groups in the province, stopped short of winking the editors that the federation was clearly sympathetic with the

anarchists' goal. And the federation: "While we did not participate in the fire-bombings... we are in agreement with the frustration and anger of the women who did it." The wives' spokesman in the wake of sexually explicit videotapes, and the outlets' unprovoked apolitical antipornography

groups whose rage is fueled by the rapid proliferation of pornographic videotapes imported from the United States, sold locally and shipped across the rest of Canada. Angered by the provincial administration's apparent unwillingness to regulate the sale of such material, antipornography groups have now intensified their efforts to close down *Bad Hot Video*.

The franchise operation, consisting of 18 stores, opened during the past year. And, until five months ago, the provincial government did not support police efforts to lay obscenity charges against the huge sellers. But in January then Attorney General Allan Rock authorized raids by RCMP and local police on video outlets in 12 B.C. communities. The raid was followed by a police seizure of more than 4,000 tapes from a Richmond, B.C., store, who the authorities claim is the main B.C. distributor of pornography.

The police momentum continued. On Jan. 21 police laid the first obscenity charges against a *Bad Hot Video* store.

Angry B.C. antipornography groups are picketing video stores and dumping chicken excrement on sex magazines

Since then, police have charged six more video outlets with obscenity. Also in January, RCMP disguised as a road crew arrested five people (subsequently dubbed the Direct Action 5) on the Squamish Highway, charging them with the Nov. 22 arson. The shortage of legal aid funds in the province has led Glen Orrin, a lawyer representing one of the five accused, to declare that "the whole concept of a fair trial is out the window in this case."

Antipornography sentiment in the province is running high. Despite these police actions, antipornography groups have kept up the pressure against a new wave of violent sex. Vancouver's People Against Pornography has re-adapted a picket at the Main Street outlet of *Bad Hot Video*, condemning what it alleges is the store's "Kentucky-dried violence," pressed headlines upon the store's security guards and organized a mass rally against the business. Vancouver antipornography groups have adhered to legal protest measures. But a renegade Vancouver group, Angry Women Walking (women is a spelling favored by radical feminists who wish to avoid any reference to men), has resorted to such tactics as spray-painting the exterior wall of video shops, harassing magazine store owners and dumping chicken ex-



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violent and full of off on racks of sex magazines. Another Victoria group, Women Against Pornography, also picketed Red Hot Video, organized educational workshops, staged demonstrations and mounted a sex-and-violence movie called *Snuff* for public officials, then destroyed the videotape.

The groups waging the war against pornography claim that the urgency prompting those measures stems from the alarming increase in pornography. Explained Staff Sgt. Terry Habert, head of the Vancouver police vice squad: "Ten years ago it was grainy home films. Now it is TV-picture quality, and some of the stuff we are seeing combines sex and violence."

The perceived link between violence against women in pornography and violence against women in real life lies at the root of those concerns. Vancouver researcher Jillian Hadington, in her report for the National Association of Women and the Law released on Feb. 18, outlined recent psychological studies of the effects of violent pornography. In it she identified the two current philosophies. One is that pornography has a "cathartic" effect—defusing hostile sexual behavior; the other is an "imitative" effect—promoting behavior viewed in rape-fantasy films. In the study Hadington condemned "positive outcome" rape films which suggest that women enjoy being raped. Noted Megan Ellis, a member of Women Against Violence Against Women Rape Crisis Centre: "For all the work we are doing to prevent rape, here is an industry doing countereducation." Added Thomas Mills, a 29-year-old Vancouver-area leather who is active in the anti-pornography movement: "Pornography is a two-bladed knife. It is dangerous to women as targets and it becomes an element of men's modeling in their own sexuality."

Red Hot Video refuses to comment on the effects that the anti-pornography crusade is having on business. And, despite the recent police actions in British Columbia aimed at curbing the rising tide of video pornography, anti-pornography groups remain skeptical about the results. The groups point out that no charges have been laid against the alleged distributor of the tapes and that Red Hot Video stores continue to stock films that have been cited in charges against the outlets. While the anti-pornography groups are anxious about what they feel is their slow progress in convincing B.C. authorities to close up the province's pornography industry, they hope that the publicity their actions have generated will persuade other governments across the country to intensify their efforts on their behalf.

—JOHN FAUSTMANN in Vancouver



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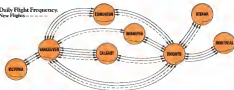
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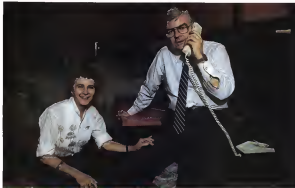
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CANADA/COVER

Crosbie: the Tory to watch

By Carol Gear and Susan Riley

The big silver bee with the name John Crosbie emblazoned in bold blue capitals rolled along the back highways of southwestern Ontario last week, a strategic background in the fight for the Conservative leadership. Although he was far from his home turf, Crosbie was cheered by the constant parade of motorists who honked horns and peered out of car windows for a passing glimpse of the candidate from Newfoundland. Said Crosbie, grinning the bee driver to acknowledge the honking cars: "Give 'em a blow, boy." Added Crosbie aide Ross Reid: "I wish we could convert these horns into votes at the convention." Indeed, although the highway band count will not be any help at the Tory leadership convention in June, it is a mark of the increasing attention that the Newfoundlanders' low-key but high-profile campaign has attracted throughout the country.

Crosbie's unexpected strength has proved the biggest surprise of the lead-

ership contest—an ironic twist of fate for a man who once said, "I have no political ambitions." In just two months he has been transformed from a regional candidate—the wincestrider from the airports—into a significant contender for the vacant Tory throne. The two front-runners, Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney, draw each other's fire and fire—in dashes over the Constitution and in trading charges of "dirty tricks"—in recruiting Quebec delegates. But the third man, with the help of a well-timed political machine, has quietly been sneaking to his own drummer since St. Patrick's Day two years ago when he started assembling his campaign team. What that will be enough to catapult him to the leadership will only be decided at the Conservative convention in Ottawa on June 13. But one thing is already strikingly clear: John Crosbie's campaign is not a Neville joke.

Crosbie is already nationally known for his quick wit and caustic lip—and for the disastrous "15-cent budget," named for the ill-fated gasoline price hike, which he opposed as Joe Clark's

finance minister. But beyond that he remains—for most Canadians—one of the more inconvertible skeptics of the "For Real," as he calls his native province. He is characterized by some as a dilettante muckraker and by still others as a sly intriguer. But what was once only his reputation about the man has suddenly become an urgent search for his identity because of the prospect of a relatively unknown politician becoming prime minister. For his part, the candidate—with a characteristic blend of candor and coyness—is keeping his dreams to himself. "I can't really say," he says. "If I win, I win. And if I lose, I spare myself untold agony."

Large numbers of the 3,000 delegates are still "comparison shoppers" among the seven chief candidates—their legions shifting almost daily. But John Crosbie—"grandfatherly of the candidates" at 50 years old—faces other obstacles if he is to become leader. Chief among them is his inability to speak French. He is, in his own words, "not even functionally illiterate in French." He blames it on an accident of birth-

place and he argues that "you don't have to speak a language to be sympathetic." His fluency in French—both in Ottawa and for an arduous 16-day immersion holiday in St-Jean, Que. In St-Jean, Crosbie and his wife Jane, also 33, spent a week with a bilingual family Thoms, on their first night, Crosbie managed to break an uncomfortable silence by sipping up his courage and asking his host, "Am-e-vo-us on work?" But at work's end, when they departed, Jane admitted, "we felt as though we had been let out of jail." Crosbie's closest advisers—including his wife—acknowledge that the lack of French is a problem. "Apart from that," says Jane, "he would have it [the convention] knocked." Meanwhile, Crosbie tries to win over doubters by pointing to Pierre Trudeau and declaring that Canadians would rather have a leader "who is sincere in one language than someone who is a dishonest trisector and a biter in two."

Another of Crosbie's alleged liabilities is his sense of humor—because he is operating in what many analysts consider to be one of the most humorless political atmospheres in the world. And only in the campaign his handlers tried to curb his sarcasm wit. But last week, as he sat delegates from some 58 ridings in Ottawa, the Newfoundlanders was patiently ignoring that advice. Speaking without notes, in a broad-brush, he was shamelessly funny in several chorused hotel meeting rooms across the province. One of his favorite targets was Liberal External Affairs

Minister After MacEachron, "The Celtic agitator" from Cape Breton, who was so successful as an finance minister, according to Crosbie, "that he was shuffled off to external affairs where he could huff and puff to his heart's content and disguise the fact that we have no foreign policy whatsoever."

Crosbie was not always a stand-up comic. When he entered municipal politics as a young, ambitious lawyer 38 years ago, his speeches were, by his own admission, lifeless. Ronald Longtime friend William Howe, a St. John's lawyer and former provincial colleague, "John was a dour, stolidified, partially private person whose speeches were deadly dull." The transformation began when he was 38 and he decided to challenge the tyrannical Joey Smallwood for the leadership of the ruling provincial Liberal party. In preparation, he was coached by a Dale Carnegie public speaking instructor. "As a lawyer, I could get up and speak, of course, but it was in a monotone, not as a noble orator," he explained later.

But not even Crosbie's well-honed rhetorical flourishes could win him the provincial leadership. After a bitterly fought campaign—which dwelt, among other things, on the number of indoor toilets in the province's schools—Crosbie lost to Smallwood, 1,079 to 440. The high-cost campaign created deep divisions within the Crosbie clan. His younger brother, Andrew, made no secret of the fact that he considered John's ambition overblown and that his leadership bid was premature. In fact,

Andrew, who has always been, and remains, close to Smallwood, managed the former premier's 1971 election campaign. "Blood aside, the Crosbies are what they want to do," he says philosophically. The wounds have healed now, and Andrew is tapping his business connections across the country for jobs.

Crosbie spent the next two years hovering unhappily among the fringes of the Liberal party before he jumped ship in 1971 and became a Conservative. He rapidly became the top-ranking minister in Frank McCreagh's government, serving as finance minister, fisheries minister, house leader, mines minister and minister of intergovernmental affairs. "He had all the tough portfolios, a tremendous workload, and he turned over every stone," recalls Reid.

Crosbie morally ideally positioned to succeed Mulroney, but he soon grew impatient and decided to enter the federal arena. A fairly safe seat opened up in 1976 when Walter Gair, the Tory member for St. John's West, left politics to fulfill a court order after seven years as an Opposition back-bencher. Conservative headquarters in Ottawa made it clear that they considered Crosbie a star candidate, and even before he was elected, rumors were circulating about the responsible shadow cabinet post waiting for him in Parliament. He quickly became enemy critic in the Clark government; then, a year later, industry critic. At the same time, he was attracting new recruits for his Don Rickles-style wit. He called Industry 2

Crosbie and wife, Jane, on the bus (opposite); Ottawa campaign workers turning honking horns into a convention vote



Minister Jack Horner "the Honorable Loose Lips." Finance Minister Jean Chrétien's "Mr. Slippery Biscuits," and fellow Newfoundlander, External Affairs Minister Don Jamieson was "Arling Jamieson."

But it was his appointment as finance minister in the Clark government on June 4, 1977, that firmly pushed the Newfoundlanders into the national spotlight. His selection was a surprise to many observers who expected the promotion to go to former banker and longtime Ontario critic Sinclair Stevenson, or even to Michael Wilson, a bright newcomer from Bay Street.

His days at Finance were long and grueling. At 40, Jane, worried quietly about his health. Crabie, who suffered a stroke warning in January, 1978, kept a blood pressure cuff in his apartment in Ottawa and a monitored almost weekly by his physician cousin. But the finance department bureaucrats, used to the lumpy-guy, slapdash approach of Crabie's predecessor, Jean Chrétien, were lavish in their praise.

Despite the pleads, Crabie had made enemies in Ottawa. One of the most serious criticisms directed at him—one that has not been widely acknowledged—is that as finance minister in the Clark government he refused to consult others and made arbitrary decisions. "There is a fear he may be like the current prime minister—or Diebold," said one Tory MP, who requested anonymity. That impression was largely formed in 1978 when Crabie was sending his deputy minister to cabinet meetings, attending only the elite "inner cabinet" sessions himself. He also lost control as support to his minister was not confirmed an unpopular program of reducing tax breaks for small businesses, a policy initiated by his Liberal predecessor, Chrétien—over the



Clark campaigning in Calgary: still popular with friends, but doubts linger as well

spirited objections of three-quarters of the Tory caucus.

These events explain Crabie's relatively limited support in Parliament Hill. He estimates that about 30 MPs will essentially support him, fewer than the 26 already claimed by Mulroney, who has never been elected to any office (leadership by 15 MPs will declare their support for Crabie within two weeks). Now, Crabie acknowledges that if he becomes prime minister he will have to "learn to delegate."

Mulroney: second place



THE PRESS

little patience with dissenters, says Bradley. Still, he does not fit the image of an unqualified, right-wing ideologue. As a former Liberal, Crabie's basic theme—how to right-wing without—appears mainstream. "Crabie looks with stuporous contempt on all party labels," says his old enemy Smallwood. "He's not a Liberal or a Tory or a New Tory. He's Crabie and will never be anything else."

In fact, Crabie's stand on the issues runs from centre-right to liberal to Liberal. Like Trudeau, he says Canada must test the nuclear missile to honor the country's NATO commitment, and like Trudeau, Crabie does not want Canada to become a nuclear nation. Crabie also wants to bolster Canada's rundown conventional armed forces—he does not say by how much—before it is "Newfoundlanded" by the United States. "If John Crabie were ever married to the Parks in a group of unambitious brown islands off the northeast coast of Newfoundland," he would want to be head man of the puffins," he says.

Clearly, Crabie was the leadership—and the subsequent election—and will swiftly win the hearts of power One of his most recent cabinet supporters, Mulroney-Norfolk MP MacDonald-Norfolk MP Mulroney, also Crabie "because he is not tough as a bitch." A Crabie government would have

little patience with dissenters, says Bradley. Still, he does not fit the image of an unqualified, right-wing ideologue. As a former Liberal, Crabie's basic theme—how to right-wing without—appears mainstream. "Crabie looks with stuporous contempt on all party labels," says his old enemy Smallwood. "He's not a Liberal or a Tory or a New Tory. He's Crabie and will never be anything else."

No plain Jane, but a feisty lady

In an age in which couples rather than individuals are elected to high office, Jane Crabie may be her husband John's greatest asset. Friendly, tough and possessed of a nearly sense of humor, Jane Crabie, 52, spent most of last week bouncing across the Ontario countryside in the back of the Crabie campaign bus, which was stuffed with all the comforts of home—including a gas gauge and a stereo system. As she has done for all her 28 years of married life, Jane Crabie was putting first things first—"helping my husband." Especially dressed and undressed, Crabie, the cordlessly smoked delegates, cracked

clever. When husband John told her that he could not declare his kitchen cabinet as co-president, she retorted, "Tonight you should have told me that before." Eventually she disposed of her involvement, but not before she laughingly told the media that she was "not anyone's shadow."

Jane Crabie is not a feminist. But she sympathizes with younger women like Margaret McFey, who are torn between pressures of career and marriage. And after a lifetime behind the scenes, Jane Crabie is taking her own tentative steps toward building an independent voice—largely as president of the Parliamentary Spouses Association.

friend and roommate. They do most things together. Jane Crabie took the same Delta Caravan speaking course that greatly improved her husband's rhetorical skills. She was even the widow's-tale in the course graduation.

Besides their marriage, the Crabies draw support from family and friends in St. John's—an extensive network in both their cases. Jane traces her family back five generations in Newfoundland—and Crabie comes from one of the most famous clans in the province, which at last count numbered about 150. John's brother Andrew brought the family to Canada in 1902. Last year, as his father and grandfather had



Jane in Toronto: Crabie at meeting of the club, not anyone's shadow, but not a feminist of the McFey stripe either

represent John with them and walked steadily as her husband suddenly repeated the same hotel room speech. But she is not more decoration. Jane Crabie is a woman, a powerful woman with views of her own.

Until the current campaign, Jane Crabie has largely avoided the Ottawa limelight, acting instead—as she puts it—as a "treasure chest of lady," trying to keep up both the Crabie home in St. John's and their apartment in Ottawa. The prospect of national exposure both intrigues and worries her. So far, her only other break with national prominence was in 1979 when she criticized then Prime Minister Joe Clark's strict code of interest guidelines—rules that were extended to the spouses of cabinet ministers. She was particularly annoyed when she had to put \$3,200 worth of stock in a US company into a blind trust—"It was hardly worth the bother for that putz," she de-



clined before him. "The Crabies have been up and down more times than a dog's belly in the sun," says John. Jane Crabie displays little anxiety at the prospect of the next five years. Meanwhile, the old guard in the party would do well to welcome her as a refreshing improvement over McFey, whose feminist stance and cool personality stirred party reactionaries. Jane Crabie makes no secret of the fact that she shed Clark—"I fought pitched battles defending him," she says. And, like McFey, she will not hesitate to offer her own husband candid political opinion. After an all-candidates debate in Toronto's Massey Hall recently, John Crabie called his wife in Ottawa to ask her impression. She was as candid, forthright: "No matter what the press said, I told him Peter Fackelman came off best of them all."

—BRYAN BERRY, with Cindy Barrett in Toronto

lighten talks between Canada and the United States. "I'm not trying to make a better deal to benefit the Americans," Croble explained to a Toronto audience last week. "I'm trying to headbush them." He believes that in many international trade negotiations, Canada and the United States should bargain as a single unit. He adds that the two countries should also initiate a "Key North American" policy and open their borders to free trade.

That stance has begun to draw fire from rival camps. Mulroney, for one, said on the weekend that "opening the border" is trade with the United States would endanger Canada's economic base. "U.S. economic priorities are not necessarily Canadian priorities," he added.

The other candidates are clearly growing increasingly concerned about the "Croble factor." Something up the campaign so far, one highly placed Ottawa Conservative commented: "The Croble campaign has gone better than expected, the Mulroney campaign has gone worse than expected, and the Clark campaign has gone just as expected." The analysis leaves Croble supporters beaming, Clark workers gradually agree, and the Mulroney camp sighs angrily. "That's fantasy time," says Mulroney's campaign manager, Paul Wend. "People who make comments like that don't have hard facts."

Unfortunately, there are no facts. But there are various analyses of the amount of support for each of the three front-runners. Most organizers agree that Clark's first-ballot standing is in the 1,000 to 1,300 range. Mulroney may have about 800 to 900 delegates, and Croble seems to be close on his heels with 800 to 700. No candidate has enough support, according to rough estimates, to win on the first ballot.

Clark would then face the prospect of his supporters deserting him after the first ballot if he appears to have too few votes to gain any further momentum. The fractures of Clark's support is, in fact, one of the biggest uncertainties of the race. But there is a widespread conviction that many of his backers are wavering. "Clark's support has gone soft," says Mulroney's Saskatchewan organizer, Kenneth Waisch, a former Clark organizer himself. "All the candidates have growth potential except Joe."



Croble as Tory finance minister add a little Dale Carnegie and a smile is born

As Clark campaigned in Alberta last week, it was clear that his support was not as solid as he would wish or expect as a leader. As Clark probably has between 50 and 60 per cent of delegate support in Alberta, most of which is in the northern half of the province. But, from Red Deer south, 30 support delegates in Calgary, where Clark has commitments from only 10 of the city's 40 delegates, he received a warm reception last Friday. But it was the kind of support accorded by friends, some of whom drove in from High River, his home town, and Red Deer. Said Judith Wilgus, a Calgary delegate: "He's a terrific guy. He has lots of experience

but he isn't win the country. We want a winner."

At Mulroney's Toronto headquarters at the old Bank of Trade building on Adelaide Street, workers are picking up hints that their candidate is falling. But Mulroney's handlers have deliberately avoided journalists, hotline down and huge anti-station-pulling rallies. "We're talking to delegates directly, not through the wires," said campaign manager Wend.

But outside the Mulroney quarters the situation looks somewhat different. Said Gordon Paul, a delegate who owns a tourist business in Niagara Falls, Ont.: "Mulroney is an all-star—he wants to become pope before he is anointed." The worst fate that could befall the good-looking Montreal business tycoon at next month's convention would be if the other camps were to gang up on him. And there is some evidence of just such an Alliance-Brit-Mulroney movement developing, particularly in Alberta.

According to Mulroney's provincial organizer, Douglas Lemow, one of Clark's western lieutenants was vowed to "drag our people, kicking and screaming" to John Croble if Clark is eliminated from the race. The ideal sequence of events for Croble would be similar to the one that suited Clark into the leadership seven years ago: one of the front-runners would falter, and he would emerge as the second choice of a majority of delegates. To have a chance of winning in that situation Croble has to avoid making enemies on the campaign trail. Although the Newfoundland's

The Grits grin and bear it

In the dimly lit atmosphere pervading the back rooms of the Liberal party, an evasive long-range glide sawdust and bumpy has rules of a national campaign is palpable. "That is the Tory heyday," and party policy chairman Louis Marleau swiftly "They are dominating the press and showing the range of their talent." Meanwhile, the Liberals grin with a record low popularity rating of 27 per cent, waiting for Pierre Trudeau to announce his retirement plan. "All we can do is hold the fort and wait until there's a change in atmosphere," said Toronto back-basher Daniel Collette.

But a growing number of Liberals are convinced that the atmosphere will not change and that the party now is destined to lose the next election. Some even suggest that an electoral realignment is exactly what the party needs to force it to begin a renewal. "A party that has been in power as long as the Liberals should go out and refresh itself," said one former prime minister's aide.

Whatever their concerns, the Liberals are united in one conviction: the Tories are entitled to be in the middle of a colorful, exuberant leadership showdown. For more than three years 65-year-old Trudeau has kept Liberals waiting in a patient silence with his on-again, off-again retirement plans. Said Earl Williams, a former national director of the party who is now an unabashed free leader political science at Montreal's Concordia University: "Liberal party militants have been definitely seduced by their own disenchanted and by their narrow and frenetic preoccupation with Trudeau and his plans." But few Liberals dare to speak so bluntly. Most—like the policy chairman Marleau—will only hint at "some frustration" over the long-running leadership dilemma.

Clearly, the Liberals have more than Trudeau alone to blame for their dismal showing in the polls. The economy is indeed beginning to pull out of the quagmire of recession. But, with more than 1.8 million Canadians still out of work, the governing party is receiving little credit. The Liberal issue has been further muddied in recent months by an embarrassing string of scandals, beginning with the controversial Senate appointment of longtime Trudeau adviser Michael Pitfield in December. Then, during the so-called Coalgate Affair, the Opposition accused Finance Minister Marc Lalonde and External Affairs Minister Allan Rock of giving preferential treatment to former

energy minister Alastair Gillinges to obtain high-level jobs and intelligence. Afterward, there was an accidental budget revelation when a TV camera zoomed in on the document before it was presented in the Commons. Added to that, former cabinet minister Bryce Mackay became involved in a web of allegations concerning his financial affairs, and, most recently, there have



Further: a kind of personality politics

been hints of irregularities in the operations of such Crown corporations as Canadian and Air Canada. Party President Louis Cangelosi is convinced that the opposition deliberately raised these scandals during the week when people were being interviewed for the Gallup poll. "It's a clever opposition strategy I learned in my days as a broadcaster," she says. Still, some Liberals argue stoutly that the Gallup poll, which shows the Conservatives at a 39-per-cent high of 32 per cent, is not a fair reflection of the way voters would actually

behave at the polls. "It's Ales-in-Wonderland," argues Ontario Liberal MP John Evans. "Everybody sees their particular favorite as the new Conservative leader." But most analysts believe that the Tory strength in the opinion polls will last for at least the rest of the campaign, with a somewhat public "honeymoon" for the new Tory leader. For his part, Toronto sociologist Marleau sees a resistance on the part of many Liberal MPs to think through difficult philosophical issues. "We're others who are torn between the need to re-thinking thinking and their party's traditional position as a middle-of-the-road coalition."

The preoccupation in the Liberal back rooms is whether or not the party will be able to bounce back from the decline in time for the next election. "I can't see it," said one longtime party organizer. Another senior government strategist said that the party's only real chance of a revival is the "Turner Solution"—choosing alternative Ray Street, prime minister's son-in-law, as leader. And even that is not a sure bet. For one thing, the weakly, successful 39-year-old Turner may be reluctant—even unwilling—to take the risk of leading a party that has plummeted to an all-time low in voter appeal. For another, in the eyes of many Canadians, Turner has lost his status as the Liberals' aesthetically glamorous candidate. A "confidence poll" that appeared in *The Toronto Star* last month showed that the Conservatives, led by another son, Joe Clark or Ontario Premier William Davis (who has since firmly closed the door on a leadership bid), could beat the Liberals led by Turner.

So far, there have been few viable candidates in the Liberal's solid front, but, privately, morale is starting to deteriorate. When MPs began grumbling at a recent meeting of the Liberal caucus, Trudeau flared up, giving them an unexpectedly stern lecture on the need to stand firm until the election improves. Said one confidante, Gillinges' aide: "Some guys are feeling bullet-riddled, but there's still an inner sense of solidarity." Besides, the most optimistic Liberals feel that in six months the voters will be taking a critical second look at the Conservatives.

But, for the short-term, disheartening times await the Liberals. As the Tory leadership candidates hooch the country, looking in the national spotlight, they have no choice but to wait helplessly for their turn to come—and hope that it happens before it's too late.

—Chris Gault in Ottawa

Peckington and wife, Eve, watching the Clarks



workers insist that he has kept his ties above board and his relations with the other contenders cordial, there have been flashes of irritation from the other camps recently. Both Clark and Mulroney workers point out that the illustrious Newfoundlanders is an adept at stalling delegate lists as any other contender. The small province of Newfoundland has the same number of caucus delegates as Ontario. And virtually every caucus school and national college in the province is sending three delegates to the June convention. "He has pulled this while thing off beautifully," said an annoyed Clark insider, who is upset by the fact that the former prime minister was criticized

1985, when the Tories put Clark's leadership to the test at their general assembly. An overwhelming 80 per cent of the membership voted for a leadership review. It was then that Crosbie decided to act, quietly and unobtrusively. Less than a month later, his legs assembles, piece-by-piece, his political machine.

On March 17, 1985, Crosbie and these friends, who would later come to be known as the "Newfoundland mafia," gathered in Crosbie's living room for the first time to develop a leadership strategy. Crosbie asked his friends—Lauchling, Basil Dobbie, one of the province's most successful businessmen, and his partner Frank Ryan, who had run Crosbie's 1976 election campaign—to

wring cash from a store."

But the organizational genius behind the Crosbie campaign directly is 40-year-old Lauchling, a no-nonsense veteran of countless campaigns—for Ontario Premier William Davis, Newfoundland's Brian Peckford and former federal Tory leader Robert Stanfield. Many Tories were caught off-guard when Lauchling quit his job as Ontario's assistant deputy minister of tourism and recreation in early March to become Crosbie's campaign manager. He had been expected to make for Davis to make a decision on whether to run himself. (Davis declared formally that he would not be a candidate on May 4.) Said Lauchling, smiling confidently: "I made a promise a long time ago."

Lauchling, who has learned election techniques from his seven years with the and regular contact with U.S. Republican organizers, which taught him the intricacies of direct mail and phone banks, runs Crosbie's high-tech campaign centre in Ottawa, arguably the most advanced in the campaign. There is a state-of-the-art IBM computer, which churns out letters, press releases, itineraries and manages a list of every delegate who will be at the Ottawa Civic Centre next month.

Despite the frantic indoor-outdoor activity, Crosbie gives the impression of riding alone—or perhaps behind—it all in the comfort of his specially equipped campaign bus. He gets to bed by 11 p.m. every night, runs for at least one square meal a day and processes addresses that even if he knew he will cheerfully support the winner. He seldom refers directly to any animosity between himself and Joe Clark—perhaps because he believes that he can gain more electoral support by taking the high road. But Mr. Headley says Crosbie was "burnt" in 1982 when "Joe kidnapped him" by shifting him in the shadow cabinet from finance to external affairs. Crosbie's disaffection was much reduced in Ottawa, but in a sense, at least, "he was only a bit hurt."

Crosbie's main achievement so far has been his careful—and apparently effortless—assumption of the leader that stands in the wide golf between Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney. Crosbie, said Ontario delegate Bruce Bickart, "is everybody's second choice." That may be wild conjecture—it certainly will not be proven until June 15. Bickart was in Toronto. Crosbie started to say "if I win," they still wobble. "They tell me I have to start saying 'When I win.'" It could be second advice.



Lauchling, the wizard behind the writing, phones Crosbie machines

more harshly than anyone else for the "dirty tricks" that have characterized the delegate selection process. And an equally scorned Mulroney worker described Crosbie's efforts to sign up delegates as "nause Newfoundland signatory-gimmick."

Still, virtually no opponent criticizes Crosbie's organization, a tightly knit cross-country chain of provincial command centres mostly run by bankers, brokers and investment dealers. Said Michael Kingston, Mulroney's Ontario chairman and the party's former national president: "John Lauchling [Crosbie's chief adviser] knows the party well and knows how to organize well." Added a Clark strategist: "Crosbie's organization is material—he was ready to go before we were." Crosbie's team was, in fact, ready to go as early as

help him if the leadership of the party opened up. They agreed and began setting up a network of people across the country to brief Crosbie on local issues wherever he went. One of the earliest high-profile Tories to join the team was Joan Pigett. Said Pigett: "This is something that's been deep within him for a long time."

The Crosbie campaign emerged from the shadows in Winnipeg when Clark called a leadership convention. Pigett was standing with Crosbie when Clark threw out his challenge. Said Crosbie to himself: "Well, he has fired the gun." Within a day Dobbie and Ryan began organizing in earnest. When Crosbie officially declared his candidacy on March 8, they had already raised about \$250,000. Said one acquaintance of Dobbie's: "He's a real money addict." "He can

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Budgets with parallel purposes

By Ian Austin

When Jacques Parizeau, Quebec's self-assured finance minister, rose to present his budget last Tuesday, he had already second-guessed some critics. "The bags some will find in the budget speech blown too much in favor of business and investment," he told the national assembly. "But the recovery must be based on business." And Parizeau's message was echoed earlier that same day in Queen's Park by his Ontario counterpart, Frank Miller. Like federal Finance Minister Marc Lalonde last month, both ministers have decided that a squeeze on middle- and lower-income taxpayers combined with breaks to some businesses and investors will help to clear a path to revival.

The ministers had to deal with a particularly difficult issue: how to reduce unemployment without adding to the provincial deficit. For Miller the solution was to take from one pocket and put into another. He offered the private sector—mostly small businesses—\$300 million



Miller (above): Parizeau's question of unemployment

out of tax cuts and incentives. But at the same time his budget will cost taxpayers an additional \$395 million in taxes. Much of the increase will be derived from a special "social services maintenance tax." In effect, a tax on a surcharge. On top of that special tax, the province's residents also face a five-per-cent boost in health insurance plan premiums, as well as the now inevitable alcohol and tobacco tax increases. Indeed, the only real relief offered to consumers is a three-month waiver of the seven-per-cent sales tax on furniture and large household appliances.

Parizeau's budget placed no major new burdens on Quebec's taxpayers. But the province already imposes some of the highest personal income tax rates in

North America. There will be no reduction in the nine-per-cent sales tax that was "temporarily" increased by one per cent last year, nor did Parizeau offer any relief from the province's 40-per-cent personal tax. The only substantial benefit for most Quebec consumers is in the area of housing. Residents buying new houses before the end of the year will be given a \$2,000 grant, and, following the lead of Lalonde's budget, Quebec will allow funds to be Registered Home Ownership Savings Plans to be used for purchases of furniture and appliances.

As in Ontario, the big winners in Quebec are business and consumers who have the means to invest. The key is in re-scheduling of a three-year-old Quebec stock savings plan. Investments in new stock issues by small and medium-sized Quebec

companies will be eligible for a 350-per-cent income tax deduction. If their projections prove accurate, the two ministers will have succeeded in their objective of holding down deficits. Parizeau is hoping for only a \$60-million deficit increase in the next year, to \$3.2 billion. Miller predicts that Ontario's deficit will climb by about six per cent, to \$2.7 billion.

Both ministers recommended relatively small amounts of money for short-term job creation. Parizeau's program will spend \$25 million and Miller's \$15 million. But projections by Miller's ministry show that the budget will still leave unemployment at 11.7 per cent this year, up from 9.8 per cent in 1982.

Some critics questioned the decision to rely on the private sector for job creation. Sud Myron Gordon, a professor of finance at the University of Toronto's School of Business, "Throwing money at business persons does not necessarily guarantee that they will spend money in Canada. Money goes where it will be most profitable, and at the moment that tends to be abroad." Gordon is also concerned that estimates of the size of the various deficits are based on questionable accounting methods. Neither Ontario nor the provinces allow for amortization of major investments, a normal business practice. Usually businesses recognize that their major investments pay for themselves in just several years. As a result, they write off their costs for things, such as machines, over a period of time. But under current government procedures, the entire cost of a government project becomes a liability—that is, the entire amount adds to the deficit—in a single year. That practice, says Gordon, frightens politicians away from useful capital programs.

And the inability of Ontario's budget to deal with the economy's fluctuations was revealed only a day after it was released. Miller indicated that a fall budget could be possible if the economy undergoes a dramatic change. Because the Ontario minister is intent on cutting his government's spending by \$300 million this year, a second budget is likely to produce even bigger budget deficits. Quebecers can expect much the same.

With Anne Brown in Montreal.



Barrow (left): MacFadden corporate payments at the price of doing business

Nova Scotia's 'tollgate' affair

In one of the most closely watched court cases in Nova Scotia history, the provincial Liberal party has been severely embarrassed. After a five-week trial, which ended on May 13, two former party fund raisers were convicted of influence-peddling. But the courtroom drama also laid bare a messy system of demanding money from companies as the price of doing business in Nova Scotia from 1970 to 1978 under the liberal administration of Gerald Regan. Senator Irvine Barrow, 70, and retired businessman Charles MacFadden, 68, were fined \$25,000 each for conspiring to offer (or even pretending to offer) influence with the Liberal government in exchange for corporate payments to the party via a process called "tollgating."

Retired Halifax executive James Simpson, who pleaded guilty in May, 1982, was fined \$75,000. At least 35 firms, mostly liquor companies, were involved in the scheme in which they were asked to pay a negotiated percentage of their income to the fund raisers. Donald MacGillivray, president of Chesley Canada, Inc., testified that in April he paid \$50 cents to MacFadden for each case of Schenley liquor sold in the province. He said he learned from his predecessor, George Kelle, and from "tips" in the distillery industry that to get his products listed with the provincial liquor commission he must "be in good health from a political contribution point of view." Contractors, too, encountered similar demands for funds when they were bidding for government contracts. Barrow

asked Aztec Consulting Services of Toronto to contribute three to five per cent of its fees from government contracts—half the company's profits. But none of the witnesses said that MacFadden or Barrow, the party's former finance chairman, promised to exert influence. "I just don't want them exerting superior influence," said one witness.

High-profile Liberal witnesses included two former premiers, members of cabinet and Regan's aide from the early 1970s, Michael Kirby, now senior vice-president of Canadian National Railways. They explained that it was normal for Simpson, the party's former main fund raiser, to be given any information he wanted about liquor commission business, and Barrow received lists of firms doing business with the government.

The case—a result of the RCMP's investigations between 1978 and 1981, which was the most exhaustive commercial crime investigation in Nova Scotia history—also implicated the provincial Progressive Conservative—the pattern of taking annual payments from brewers and distillers. But some revelations said that they did not pursue the Tory case because party fund raisers told them that the related documents had been destroyed. Mr. Justice C. Dennis Rowell said after the sentencing that he thought the publicity surrounding the trial had effectively ended the practice in the province. However, the court heard little evidence to support that opinion.

—MICHAEL CLUGGTON in Halifax

Trudeau rebukes the protesters

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau emphasized Canada's peace movement in a war of words last week, and the result was a standoff. With his government under intense public pressure to refuse an expected U.S. request to test cruise missiles in Canada, Trudeau sent out an unusual "open letter" to newspapers across the country to defend his nuclear arms policy. Although his influence on Canadians generally is impossible to gauge, the letter appeared to have little or no effect on the government's critics. One activist, Matthew Charr of the Supreme Bureaucracy Network, accused Trudeau of "trying to smother the peace movement in the warm traditions of the Cold War."

Trudeau made three main points in his five-page letter. For one thing, he criticized the environmental demonstrators for "target-falseness" in failing to protest against arms deployment by Moscow as well as by the West and for making it "possible to portray the Soviet Union not as the aggressor but as the innocent target." For another, he said that in his book, *The American Way to Armageddon*, he had said the Americans to protect the West but to refuse to lead them a head when the going gets rough. In that sense, the anti-Americanism of some Canadians reaps on hypocrisy. They're eager to see the refusal of the Americans to do but don't want to help him do it. Then he added that if the government agreed to the main terms, "it would be because of our solidarity with the other Western democracies," which have adopted a NATO plan to phase cruise and Pershing II missiles.

The Trudeau letter was attacked on several fronts. Anti-nuclear leaders contended that they do, in fact, oppose the Soviet nuclear arms buildup as much as the Western weapons programs. But they argued that protests have little influence on the Kremlin. Others disputed the umbrella of security measures surrounding St. St. Rev. Charles MacDonald, moderator of the United Church of Canada. "In the hands of this umbrella is the life of a man whose death proportions" Opponents also rebuked Trudeau's argument that cruise deployment in Europe is necessary to persuade Moscow to dismantle the SS-20 missiles that it has deployed in Eastern Europe. Said New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent, "Trudeau's view question being pursued by many people was whether this action by the Soviet Union necessitates a further escalation in the West." Trudeau, obviously, still needs more ammunition to win his argument. —JOHN HAY in Ottawa.

Ontario bows to motherhood

Ontario's provincial budget last week contained encouraging news for women across the country. The government announced that it has finally agreed to a change in the Canada Pension Plan that will provide higher pensions for women who leave their jobs to raise children. Ontario had been the only province that opposed the measure, and, with the Queen's Park veto withdrawn, federal officials said the new provision now can take effect as early as June. Roughly two million women will gain from the new program, including those mothers who completed their child-rearing years ago.

More encouraging news for women came from Ottawa last week when Statistics of Women Minister Judy Eirin hinted at a federal scheme to make affirmative action mandatory for firms under its jurisdiction—chartered banks, Crown corporations and railways. (Affirmative action, currently voluntary, means hiring and promoting women to balance the male/female ratio in the work force.) Eirin said that although her ministry's plan, in the announced a matter of months, would "not very likely" take the form of legislative legislation, they would take a "very pragmatic approach."

The so-called dropout provision will increase the average pension of women with children by 25 per cent, according to a 1979 study by the Economic Council of Canada. Currently, the CPP pays out pensions based on the contributor's average earnings for all the contributory years between 18 and 65. The lowest 25 per cent of those earning periods (up to seven years) is dropped before calculating the average. Under the dropout pro-

Ontario's budget has finally cleared the way for higher pensions for women who leave their jobs to raise children

vision, a woman can also delete her child-rearing years as well—in effect, raising her average contribution over the length of her working life. And that, in turn, will increase the pension she will receive at 65, along with any survivor or disability benefits also flowing from the CPP. The vast majority of beneficiaries of the dropout provision are women, but it applies to any parent who

drags out of the work force to raise a child—normally, to the parent who receives the family allowance cheque.

Women's groups have been promoting the dropout clause for years, arguing that child-rearing is important work that should be acknowledged in the national pension plan. Parliament enacted the program in 1973, but the change needed the consent of two-thirds of the country's population (Quebec refused its own pension scheme the same year). By last year, when British Columbia endorsed the proposal, all provinces except Ontario had agreed—and Ontario held a veto.

Premier William Davis' government had objected to the subsidy to women created by the dropout clause because it would provide them with more pension than they had earned through contributions. And Ontario maintained that the change should only be considered in conjunction with other changes needed in the CPP's financing, including an increase in premiums. In the end, the Davis cabinet was influenced both by other governments and by pressure from within Ontario. The change of heart was signalled in last week's Ontario budget. Now, only a provincial government order-in-council is needed to enable Ottawa to declare the 1977 act in effect.

—JOHN ELAK in Ottawa.

Righting a terrible wrong

Never before had a Canadian convicted of murder been set free from prison after a re-examination of the evidence. But on a sunny afternoon last week Donald Marshall, a quiet 25-year-old Micmac Indian, learned that he was finally free—after 11 years of protesting his innocence from behind prison walls. "I don't know what I missed [of life], but whatever I missed, I got it back today," an ebullient Marshall declared.

Marshall was sentenced to life in prison for the 1971 murder, in a Sydney, N.S., park, of his 18-year-old friend Sandy Seale. But last week five judges of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court Appeals Division delivered a unanimous exoneration. Their verdict, however, was couched with a qualification, in effect blaming Marshall for his own misfortune. By looking from the original court the fact that he and Seale were intent on robbery on the night of the murder, the judges said, Marshall cut off his only line of defence—that Seale was stabbed by an armed robbery victim.

The judges did not address serious indications of police misconduct in the case. The three key witnesses from the 1971 trial testified that the two investi-



Marshall: "I don't know what I missed!"

gating officers of the Sydney Police Force forced them to let in order to implicate Marshall. They have since acknowledged that they did not, in fact, witness the killing, as they originally alleged. Furthermore, three other witnesses who came forward to clear Mar-

shall shortly after the 1971 trial either provided "misleading" information, according to the police, after polygraph tests or were simply ignored. But in 1982 the RCMP, in a re-investigation, took less than a month to find the alleged murder weapon, to discover a credible witness who exonerated Marshall, and to compile such a compelling dossier on his innocence that it infuriated then federal justice Minister Jean Chrétien because of the apparent lack of justice. The new evidence clearly refutes a different man in the killing, and last week Roy Blaney, 71, who is in hospital with a neck injury suffered in a fall, was charged with second-degree murder.

Marshall, who starts a job as a plumber this week, says he wants to put all his bitterness behind him. But he has a legal bill of \$75,000, and no governments have made offers of financial compensation for his 11 years in Dorchester Penitentiary and Springhill Institution. Nova Scotia Attorney General Harry Hogg says he is considering some sort of payment. Meanwhile, Marshall is left to decide whether to proceed with a lawsuit he has already launched against the City of Sydney and the two officers whose questionable case against him cost him a large part of his life. That, in itself, may be a profoundly bitter decision.

—MICHAEL CUDGETON in Halifax.

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The Thatcher factor

By Carol Kennedy

Majestic Thatcher finally came out of the political corner last week. After toying with inactivity about an early general election for weeks, the British prime minister was crushed and set June 8 as the date Thatcher argued that the uncertainty had become "intolerable" and added, "Government decisions are being held up because people do not know who will be the government in a year's time." The timing of the call, however, indicated that Thatcher personally had no doubts her party dominated the polls, and the official Opposition in the last parliamentary election, she won when the going was best.

On the eve of her announcement, senior ministers were unanimously in favor of the June date during a nine-hour debate. They feared that by not announcing another possible election period, economic thunderclouds would be gathering, including a further rise in unemployment, reaching 6.4 per cent (1.5 million) and a possible increase in inflation, now at a 15-year low of 4.6 per cent. On the positive side, Thatcher's colleagues noted the Tories' 21-point lead in the opinion polls and the weakening in the Opposition Labour Party. Any delay in calling the election, they pointed out, would give Labour a chance to replace its battle-scarred leader, Michael Foot, with his aggressive deputy, Denis Healey. Such a move, a recent poll revealed, could immediately lose the Tories lead down to five per cent. Not only that, but putting off the election would have given the now-Liberal alliance, the fledgling third force in British politics, a chance to revive its lagging fortunes



Thatcher for all her desire to hear closely, Britain has rarely done so positively

But the election decision had its drawbacks. Important government legislation, including a controversial bill to give the police more power, had to be scrapped. And while the election date safely provides important entries in the social calendar—such as the Wimbledon tennis championships and Royal Ascot race—it affected diplomacy. Thatcher was forced to cancel a three-day visit with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, though she still intends to attend the seven-city Williamsburg summit this month.

The chance of date she had the political risk at home. For one thing, it stung Thatcher as an upstart, undermining the resolute reputation she earned in last year's Falklands War. The general election call brought an im-

mediate instant from Foot that the government had "not and run" Thatcher's view that the Labour job was preferable. If she had not called an election the mood would have been one of "dithering." But the Tories also still face the task of defending their record, answering critics' charges that they have divided the "house" more sharply than ever from the "new order" and failed to honor election promises.

Indeed, Thatcher's advice early in her term to her fellow countrymen to "listen your souls out" has proved fully justified in her four-year duration of political life. Nearly everyone, from trade unionists to civil critics, has felt the impact of her personality and policies.

In a recent assessment, Thatcher closed credit for a "major change of direction" in British life. Few would dispute that. Whether in promoting such state-owned gains as the British National Oil Co. and Thomas Cook Travel or in ruthlessly combating a labor movement that has become an enemy in the face of government compliance, Thatcher has altered the industrial and social map of Britain.

In recent weeks Thatcher lauded the "Victorian virtues" of thrift and self-reliance—as attitudes embedded in the budgets fashioned over four years by her chancellor, anti-spoken Welsh lawyer Sir Geoffrey Howe. The policies have reduced direct taxation, shifting the emphasis instead to indirect taxes in a bid to persuade people to save or invest in new businesses. But critics charge that the nation not only has largely failed but that the main beneficiaries have been the wealthy.

Other aspects of the Tory record are



equally controversial. Helped by North Sea oil, Britain's exports stood at a record \$276 billion last year, manufacturing output has fallen 13.8 per cent since 1979 interest rates at 15 per cent, are one of the highest in the world since Thatcher took office. Since the lifting of exchange controls in October, 1979, billions of pounds have flowed out of the country. The Tories claim that the flood has benefited companies with international links, helped consumers by making travel abroad easier and boosted the pound. But opponents charge again that the result has been to benefit the rich.

Last week Foot signalled his early determination to fight the campaign on two main grounds, unemployment and the controversial personality of the prime minister. "We have a chance of outright victory," he stated. But his claim was belied by opinion polls that gave the Tories their double-digit lead and bookmakers' odds that made Thatcher a 2 to 9 favorite.

Certainly, Labour faces formidable hurdles. Recent rising boundary changes have given the Tories a built-in advantage of 21 new seats in the north and have taken away nine Labour strongholds. To achieve a majority of even one seat in the new Parliament, Labour would need a net gain of 68 seats, to get a working majority it would require a 140-seat comparable to Clement Attlee's 1950 sweep in 1945. That is hardly likely. On the evidence of

local elections earlier this month, they support the south is solid. In the north, Labour is holding its own. But in Scotland, where Thatcher's appeal her campaign week ended, the traditionally large Labour lead has narrowed dramatically to a mere three per cent. The crucial battleground will be in the industrial Midlands, which have borne the brunt of the recession and Thatcher's "inner but bitter" brand of economic Darwinism. But Labour can scarcely hope to win enough seats there to mount the boundary-change issue.

Not only that, but the unemployment issue identified in recent polls as the chief concern of voters may turn out to be less of a vote winner than Foot hopes. Other recent opinion-sampling has suggested that Britain accept the loss of jobs as a fact of recessionary life, common to all industrialized countries.



James (Jack) Callaghan's Foot (Labour), since 'It's Thatcher vs. the rest'

Attacks on Thatcher's personality, too, may fail. The underdogged are better about her behavior objections to them to better themselves. But that philosophy appeals to a new type of Tory—the skilled worker with aspirations to the good life.

Meanwhile, Labour itself is vulnerable. It has lost the ground between its right and militant left wings as expectations grew for an early election. But its free-spending, left-leaning members still lean into charges of extremism. Nowhere is Labour more vulnerable to attack than on defense, where its leadership is hopelessly divided. On the one hand, Foot favors unilateral nuclear disarmament. On the other, shadow defense minister Healey supports nuclear deterrence and is a loyal advocate of NATO.

For their part, the Tories are split behind Thatcher. At 57, she still rarely

thrives on the stress and turmoil of office. "She doesn't enjoy being a politician. Everything is seen in terms of her victory or defeat," says former Labour MP Brian Walden, now a respected television analyst. "It is Thatcher vs. the rest." However, the Tories will be spared not to give their answer too firmly on the "Leadership," as former Conservative arts minister Norman St. John-Stevas once dubbed her. Those with long memories recall the lesson of Winston Churchill's devastating defeat in 1945, when the much-loved war leader was toppled by an inevitable surge for social justice.

Instead, the government can be expected to fight its campaign mainly on inflation—in the big economic achievement—and on Labour's newly plan to switch Britain sharply toward a state-financed job creation program. The Tories are already playing the defense card, which they clearly see as a trump. Despite the growth of unemployment in the country, the Conservatives do not regard the peace sign at Greenham Common, where U.S. cruise missiles are to be stationed later this year, or the resurgence of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), as a conviction proof that the voters are ready to back Labour's lean-the-boards package.

The wide gap between the swings of the two major parties leaves the centre open to the two-year-old cent-Left Liberal Alliance.



which was a notable exception earlier this year in London's doleful riding of Remembrance, previously a Labour stronghold. The Alliance has had other startling by-election victories in its brief existence. But it has had disasters too. After riding high in Remembrance, an inexperienced candidate placed an ignominious third in the northwestern riding of Darlington last March. Last week its poll ratings ranged between 18 and 34 per cent, and Alliance Leader Roy Jenkins said the party had "everything to play for." But the Alliance also will be hurt by the boundary changes—and by Britain's first post-the-poll electoral system, where, as in Canada, a winner can take office with a meagre plurality. Electoral analysts point out that the Alliance could pile up millions of votes yet fail to elect more than a handful of MPs. The Alliance's campaign also is inhibited by the size of its war chest—a mere £1 million compared with Labour's \$5.8 million and the official Conservative £17 million bankroll, drawn largely from business donations. Finally, but most important, the activist third force in British politics enters its first general election with no leadership divided between the stars James and Liberal leader David Steel, a semi-popular national figure, who in newspapers chooses.

Whatever the post-election lineup, a number of well-known parliamentary faces will be missing from the Commons. Sir Harold Wilson, twice Labour prime minister in the 1960s and 1970s, is retiring. So is former Tory defence minister Sir John Nott, knighted after last year's Falklands victory. Speaker George Thomas and former Liberal MP Jo Grimond, who led the Liberal party's recovery in the 1980s, are also not seeking re-election.

Labour had an unexpected boost on the first day of the campaign in the House of Commons as ministered all its parliamentary resolve to kill several recent budget measures aimed at adding to the wealth of the affluent, including tax relief on higher mortgages and the raising of tax thresholds for high-income earners. It was an ironic postscript to the Thatcher years. For all her desire to heal the nation's divisions, her policies have polarized it more sharply than at any time since Labour introduced the postwar welfare state.

But the parliamentary coup seemed to be an excellent omen to the general election result. As the prestigious *Guardian* noted last week, Thatcher has "laid a spell" over the nation. Harming unhealthily barren and too much complacency, the Conservatives apparently are going to reverse their mistakes and complete the task of building what the paper called "Mrs. Thatcher's Britain." ♦



Shultz (left) meeting Assad in Damascus in a breakthrough that ignites Syria

THE MIDDLE EAST

An ominous rumor of war

Only days after an accord was reached between Israel and Lebanon, the Middle East seemed poised once more on the brink of war last week. Syria's state-controlled press denounced the accord, declaring, "We expect the battle against this proposed agreement to be fierce and violent." Then, in another contrived incident, Damascus announced, "Any Israeli aggression would mean an unfriendly war." Israel replied that it, too, is prepared to strike back if its security is threatened, and Tel Aviv charged that there is a growing Soviet presence—in both sophisticated arms and advisers—in Syria. Meanwhile, as many as 3,000 Palestinian Liberation Organization guerrillas who left Beirut last summer to return to Syria as Israeli prisoners withdrew already there. As rumors of war gripped Beirut, the Soviets did speculation by withdrawing more than 100 wives and children of Soviet diplomats from the city. By week's end an eerie calm hung over occupied Lebanon. But it was bounding ominously clear that earlier euphoria over the prospects of a withdrawal of foreign forces was indeed premature.

In fact, the renewed talk of war indicated that the Israeli-Lebanese accord worked out by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was unlikely to achieve any reduction in Middle East tensions. The plan called for the withdrawal of

Israeli troops from Lebanon. But that scenario is contingent on a similar troop pullout by Syrian and Palestinian forces. Shultz went to Damascus only at the end of his Lebanese shuttle when details of the package had already been worked out. As a result, Syrians believed that their own security concerns and their Lebanese interests had not been sufficiently guaranteed, and they rejected the pact. They also denounced it as too favorable to Israel. Not only that, but Damascus radio quoted Syrian President Hafez al-Assad as saying that the accord "means Lebanon away from the Arab stand and makes it an Israeli protectorate."

Some observers suggested that Shultz may have been grossly misinformed in winning a quick and badly needed foreign policy victory for the Reagan administration. Indeed, *The New York Times* noted Shultz as a "diplomatic star," and a leading Israeli newspaper, *Ha-Aretz*, touted him as a "magician" for his ritual achievements. But those views were weakened only by ignoring Syria. Some Middle East experts also argued that if the Syrians had been brought in, they would have insisted on widening the scope of the talks to include the future of the Golan Heights and the West Bank territories that have remained under Israeli control since they were seized in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. That clearly



Peace-loving fighters in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley; Israel's Manachem Begin would Syria's refusal to sign destroy the accord?

would have made as early success impossible. Further, the Syrians would have been reluctant to sign a separate agreement for troops withdrawn from Lebanon because they would have lost their leverage with Israel and the United States on these wider issues.

Indeed, the Israeli sources were largely ignored last week as the United States renewed its warm relations with Israel after a year of sometimes tense dealings. The Reagan administration apparently urged Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin not to provoke any new outbreak of fighting, but Washington also announced that it will lift the embargo on sales to Israel of 15 additional F-16 fighter planes. The United States also privately gave written assurances of its support for the agreement to both Israel and Lebanon.

With Washington's full arms then restored, the Reagan administration downplayed the problem of Syrian opposition. "I know we have some yardies to get over," President Reagan told reporters, "but it would not be the Middle East or us who'd be." For his part, Shultz told Reagan on his return from the Middle East that he is "confident" that Syria will withdraw its troops. Earlier in Paris he is insisted that there was a "majority" of support for his plan among countries in the Arab world, includ-

ing Saudi Arabia, a key source of financial support for Syria. But Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz denied that his government is exerting pressure on Syria to accept the Shultz accord. "Saudi Arabia is not a tool in the hands of any big or small power for exerting pressure or an Arab asset," Sultan declared.

In fact, there seemed to be less enthusiasm for the plan in the Middle East—outside of Israel—than Shultz was willing to acknowledge. Even within Lebanon, there was considerable resistance to accepting the agreement. Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, the leading Maronite in the Lebanese government, apparently told Shultz that the accord contained too many concessions to Israel that Lebanon could not afford to accept. It and Lebanese President Amal Gemayel appeared to be on the defensive as he explained why his government had accepted a deal that will allow, among other things, 30,000 Israeli-Lebanese patriots—and Lebanese-owned—in southern Lebanon. Said Gemayel: "Our acceptance of the presence of 40 or 50 Israeli soldiers under the umbrella of the U.S.-Lebanese—Lebanese supervisory committee in a thousand times better than the last presence of 20,000 Israeli troops. It's not, most honestly estimate, three

are 20,000 Israeli soldiers still in Lebanon.

For Syria, the Shultz plan is even less appealing. Not only would it remove Lebanon from Syria's traditional sphere of influence—much of Lebanon was actually part of Syria until 1920, under the Ottoman Empire—but the Syrians complain that a demilitarized Lebanon would leave their heartland vulnerable to Israeli attack. Damascus also argued that it should not be treated on the same terms as Israel because Syrian troops entered Lebanon first in 1976 in the role of peacekeepers. The Syrians pointed out that they had a mandate from the Arab League and an invitation from Lebanon to enter the country but that Israel had actually invaded. And, despite assurances from Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salame that his country's relations with Syria are still "firm," a high-level delegation was quickly dispatched to Damascus to try and resolve differences.

Syria's sense of alienation from the accord seems certain to have significant repercussions. At months of negotiations were on between Israel and Lebanon, the isolated Assad regime turned increasingly to Moscow. With Soviet aid, Damascus has now rebuilt its military strength, which was severely weakened in clashes with Israel last year. Damascus is now believed to be stronger than ever before—a development that may put dramatically alter the Middle East political equation.

—LINDA MORGAN in Toronto, with Middle East Power in Washington, Eric Dier in Jerusalem and Robin Wright in Beirut.





Treurnicht (center) correctly gauging the breadth of anti-apartheid support

SOUTH AFRICA

Cracks in a wall of white

It was like a prismatic without a lens. In last week's South African by-elections—four of the most hotly contested campaigns in the nation's history—the incumbents fought with new intensity and managed to hold onto their seats. But the Conservative party, a breakaway extreme right-wing faction opposed to the ruling National party's moderate proposals for apartheid reform, clearly scored the most points. Conservative leader Andries P. Treurnicht swept his rural constituency of Waterburg by 1,094 votes, sweeping the Nationalist candidate. At the same time, Minister of Agriculture Stephanus Botha, who sparked the race in February when he dared Treurnicht to a test of their respective agricultural wits, lost the different riding of Soutpansberg but only by a slim margin of 641.

The local by-elections, as well as those in Pretoria and a provincial by-election in Capetown, west of Johannesburg, had been widely viewed as a test of support for the National party's reforms. Those changes would offer limited parliamentary representation to coloreds (people of mixed race) and Asians but not to South Africa's black majority. And despite the suggestion that the government may now be forced to abandon its limited liberalization program in the face of rising white opposition, Foreign Minister Botha said that the government remained committed to reform.

In the 36 years during which the National party has monopolized power,

the white community has displayed almost unswerving solidarity. But that white uniformity is crumbling over Botha's reforms, with liberalization increasingly divided from conservatives in mining towns and farming communities. The strains were dramatically highlighted during the by-election campaign. At a ceremony in which the Soutpansberg riding town of Messina received a trophy for having the country's prettiest railway station, the mayor was knuckled out by a Conservative opponent during its presentation.

The Nationalists tried to brand the Conservatives as an insignificant localistic fringe. To that end, they accused Treurnicht's ultrarightist support group, such as the Kappelenkommando, a women's organization whose leader, Marie van Wyk, declared that Botha worshiped a different God from him and that "blacks have a different heaven from whites." And, despite challenges to repudiate such groups, Treurnicht refused, correctly gauging the breadth and intensity of his support.

Still, the struggle for apartheid reform seems destined to continue. The National party expressed similar sentiments. One veteran parliamentarian observed that the by-elections were "a rebuff for reform but not the end of it." But with anti-reform feelings still inflamed and the government still smarting from Botha's near-defeat in Soutpansberg, the light will be long and bitter—and potentially chaotic.

—ALLAN FRIEDMAN in Cape Town

CENTRAL AMERICA

Congress makes a compromise

It was the last sentence of a long speech, but its significance was strikingly clear. "Was sworn as," said President Ronald Reagan, "would wish to bear responsibility for failing to meet our shared obligations." That sentence, posed during his address to a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives last month, was in effect an ultimatum. If the Democrats fail to give the president room to maneuver in Central America, then they will be blamed if El Salvador's right-wing regime falls to the left-wing guerrilla movement.

Last week many Democrats seemed to agree that Reagan's veiled threat was to be taken seriously. They refused to give the president everything he seeks, but a rough consensus on military aid to El Salvador—and, at the nation's slavery relations with Nicaragua—seemed to be emerging. A bipartisan approach, hammered out in various congressional committees, would give the White House about 76 per cent of security-related aid requests and 100 per cent of economic subsidies. At the same time, the funding would be stopped if the Salvadorean government failed to honor a pledge to open a "dialogue without preconditions" with the rebels and political opponents.

The Senate foreign relations committee approved security aid of \$76.3 million through fiscal year 1985, but it also voted to place a ceiling on the number of U.S. military advisors in El Salvador at its current level of 38. The House foreign affairs panel authorized somewhat less in military assistance. It allocated \$65 million for the next three years and awarded it to be used in unconditional negotiations with guerrilla forces. If such a dialogue does not begin within 90 days after the foreign aid bill is signed, however, the aid could be cut off, the panel decided. But there would be no interruption of support if the left-wing opponents of the El Salvador regime declined to participate. Other conditions require El Salvador to exert greater control over its two right-wing security forces, improve its human rights record and continue its land reform program.

The committee decisions will now be debated in the House and in the Senate, where the House is expected to take up the bill for additional funding. Still, senior officials last week described the congressional votes as a qualified victory for Reagan. Most observers had characterized the original aid requests as unrealistic, and they

expected that Reagan had better than would have been predicted a month ago. The administration also believes that the conditions attached to the aid bill are not unreasonable—primarily because opposition forces in El Salvador are unlikely to enter into direct negotiations.

The final version of the foreign aid bill may closely resemble the resolution adopted last week. The Democrats have granted sufficient funds, they hope, to keep the Salvadorean army from losing the guerrilla war. At the same time, they have imposed enough conditions to compel the administration to seek a political solution. Republicans in Congress generally accepted the compromise. Sen. Rep. Henry Hyde, a conservative from Illinois, "if you can't get dinner, get a sandwich."

The administration made a similar attempt to forge a bipartisan approach last week in a closed session of the House foreign affairs committee. State Department and Central Intelligence Agency officials were urged to give five years on U.S. covert assistance to anti-Sandinista forces along Nicaragua's border with Honduras. A Senate panel has already voted to give the president until Sept. 30 to provide a more compelling rationale for the covert operation or face a cutoff of funds. And the House intelligence committee has ordered a plan to turn the covert operation into overt assistance, aimed directly at stopping any arms flow from Nicaragua to guerrillas in El Salvador. But the foreign affairs panel deferred formal action until this week, a move which House Majority Leader James Wright described as an effort to limit "sensationalism" on the issue.

Wright's attitude seemed to indicate that efforts to achieve a bipartisan approach to Nicaragua would not be prejudiced by the administration's earlier announcement that it was cutting Nicaragua's sugar import quota by 96 per cent. The measure, justified on grounds of national security, would allow that sugar will be permitted to sell only 6,000 short tons of sugar each year—a loss of about \$15 million worth of export revenue. Washington intends to repurchase the quota with help neighboring Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador.

For their part, the Democrats seem to have recognized that a stark opposition to Reagan's policy in Central America might prove politically costly. A strategy of prudent skepticism, as the House and Senate would do the president's unilateral 1984 campaign line, especially in the southern states. The overriding question is whether a Reagan-Congress move toward the centre will prove as effective a defense of U.S. interests in Central America.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington

THE UNITED STATES

Canada's illegal alien trade

Early last March 19, U.S. immigration officials stopped an 18-wheel dump truck that had crossed the Lewiston-Quebec bridge just downriver from Niagara Falls. The driver, Laurence McNulty of Toronto, told authorities that his truck was empty. But when Rep. William Robinson loaded under a canvas in the back of the truck, he found an old Trinidadian woman reading her Bible and shaking with fear. Then the inspectors discovered 36 Guatemalan hidden under the tarpaulin.



U.S. border patrol agent snuggled aliens

He in the truck. The five frightened stowaways told U.S. authorities that they had each paid \$1,500 to be driven from Toronto to New York City. Next month McNulty and an accomplice will be sentenced on charges of smuggling the six aliens into the United States and face a maximum term of 20 years in jail. But their fate is unlikely to slow the growing tide of illegal migration from Canada to the United States or deter the smugglers.

U.S. officials estimate that they catch fewer than half the smugglers currently operating along the 2,500-km stretch from St. Stephen, N.B., to Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. The numbers remain relatively small—only 160 smugglers and

245 smuggled aliens were arrested last year—compared with the estimated number of illegal crossings of the U.S.-Mexico border. There, 100,000 people were arrested in March.

But the northern border is patrolled much less heavily than the southern, and Canadian rules make it easier for people going to the United States. Most visitors to Canada can stay for as long as three months without a visa. Said Gordon Dimroo, U.S. deputy chief patrol agent at the border base in Swanton, Vt. "Our view is that Canadian law is more lenient than that in the United States." Dimroo believes that impoverished conditions and political repression in Caribbean and Latin American countries are the chief motivating factors for "a great number of alien-smuggling cases." Smugglers based in Canadian cities—specifically Toronto and Montreal—pray on people who are desperate to disappear in the often melting pot of U.S. suburbs.

Canadian immigration authorities claim that there is little they can do. Federal immigration spokesman Les Westenberg says that if someone from Guatemala or Nicaragua—countries he which "villages" was an unnecessary—can satisfy Canadian officials that he is a legitimate visitor, it is difficult to prove otherwise. But, replied Dimroo, "when you start thinking of the number of Canadians who are deterring large sums of money into the country (from smuggling), I would be a little concerned if I were a Canadian official."

In fact, it is not lack of concern that is the reason for Immigration's apparently meek attitude. Officials are bound to respect the Immigration Act. But the RCMP is using its powers under the Criminal Code to prosecute smugglers where possible. In March the court in the case of the border base in Swanton, Vt., border crossing. He will appear with three others in court this week charged with conspiracy to smuggle illegal aliens, specifically, Haitians, into the United States. The court will hear evidence in the smuggling trade, it is not likely to be the last of such trials in Canada. —LINDA DORRILL in Toronto, with Anne Serene in Montreal and Daniel Whitman in Swanton, Vt.

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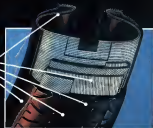
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At 15, comely New Yorker **Ava Todor** Valenza's acting credits included several high school plays and one day's work as an extra in the 1980 film *It's My Turn*, starring **Jeff Bridges** and **Michael Douglas**. As a result, when her struggling actress mother, **Gloria**, auditioned for director **Leslie Halliwell's** comedy *Cheers* last fall, Valenza sent along a photo of herself, hoping at least for a walk-on part, or perhaps even to be discovered. Halliwell had already focused the eyes of the world on **Brenda Phillips** with his film *Pretty Baby*, and Valenza had often been compared to the leggy brunette. Still, it was a big surprise when, three days after her mother's own frenetic audition, Halliwell arranged for Valenza to be flown to Los Angeles for a screen test, where she bagged the movie's impish role the same night. Now, after working with the likes of **Donald Sutherland** and **Sean Penn**, the five-foot-tenth 16-year-old is wary of being exploited, like *Shirley*, as just another marketable face. Says Valenza, "I don't think I would like a Barbie doll named after me."



Clarkson (below); Valenza (above) she's no Barbie doll

From Singapore to Sweden, millions of viewers have avidly followed the working-class lives of **Ret Løvelø**, **Mike Baldwin** and **Brian Talley** on television's longest-running soap opera, *Coronation Street*. Last week, for the first time since 1965, when Canadians started watching segments of the show already airing in Britain, three cast members of the British series came to meet their fans in appearance in and around Toronto, the mecca of the British northern England town of Weatherfield were overwhelmed by the show's popularity in Canada. But that was no surprise to **vanessa Julia Goodwin**, who plays *Lynne*, a sexy barmaid sporting tight leotard clothing and gaudy earrings. *Goodwin* has now received several thousand pairs of earrings from adoring U.K. fans. Actor **Johnny Briggs**, whose character, **Baldwin**, gets marriage proposals and hate mail from fans who are envious about his on-air liaison with a married woman, tested anxious Canadian viewers by apologetically keeping mum when queried about the fate of favorite characters. *Coronation Street* is not as glamorous or sexy as North American soaps like *Dallas* and *Dynasty*, but the series is even more popular than mem-

bers of *British*'s *Royal Family*, who, traditionally, watch the show. Says Executive Producer **Bill Redmond**: "The Queen has to keep in touch with the working class somehow." Last year a wedding on the series drew more viewers than that of *Chesed* and *OH*.

The Cannes festival has always been the world's largest film event, and this year's extravaganza has been no exception. In the midst of getting a little attention, no star is too difficult. Last week, as filmmakers lunched in the beach surrounded by copious umbrellas, producer **Alexander Skolnik** of *Superman* fame had two helicopters soon across the sky to advertise his upcoming *Superman* (starring **Christopher Reeve**), the second helicopter carrying a woman dressed in blue sat on the beach. The Ontario government was more conventional in its bid for

attention. Ontario abandoned its state defense of Niagara Valley wine and served French instead to lure 250 people to a gala beach reception celebrated by Toronto's film extravaganza, the Festival of Festivals. **Adrienne Clarkson**, the province's representative in France, flew in from Paris for the party and mingled with the likes of **Paul Haggis** and Canadian producers **Barry Fox** and **Robert Lantos**. **Harold Greenberg**, Montreal professor of the phenomenally successful *Party* and next month's *Party*, it, lounged in the sunset chatting amiably with the press but, out of respect for his fellow Canadian film-makers, graciously declined any discussion of his personal success. "I don't want to comment," he said. "We've so many film-makers out having difficulty."

"Clayton's Rock is not a romance film," insists photographer **Newfoundland** and novelist **William Raw**, Rhodes Scholar and former Newfoundland Liberal Opposition leader. **Raw**, hailed as a political underdog, was elected into politics in 1966 at the age of 26 by then Premier **Joey Smallwood** and, like the hero of *Clayton's Rock*, **Neil Godwin**, he soon aligned to the Newfoundland premiership himself. Unlike Godwin, however, he never attained it. (However, *Raw's* marriage, being 304 years blackwater may have been changed just enough from real life to prevent a slippery target for litigation. Although *Clayton's Rock* is drawn with overtones of control, Premier **Robert Pickens**'s near fatalism and the authoritarian ambition of **Paul Lévesque** his ranting and verbal bullying will be recognizable as Smallwood in Prince George, not to mention *Paul's* *Clayton's Rock*, who resigned as Liberal leader in 1975 to return to his law practice, turned out the first draft of *Clayton's Rock* during a session in the south of France. "I always wanted to write," declares Newfoundland's answer to *Joey*, **Carol O'Neil**, "but I got sidetracked when Smallwood pulled me into the cabinet."

—EDITED BY MATTHEW SPONKUS



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The Toronto Stock Exchange seems doubtful about the current rally in the blowoff before a 1929-style crash

BUSINESS

Mixed signals on the markets

By James Fleming

The hundreds of international investment experts converging on Toronto's Royal York Hotel this week will have more than the rhetoric of high-powered speakers and a banquet of business meals to savor. The members of the U.S.-based Financial Analysts Federation are holding their annual meeting at a time when the headstrong performance of world stock markets has reawakened the investment business from its recent anti-business condition. Since August, 1992, the markets have set record highs in what some observers herald as "the new age of equities."

The Toronto Stock Exchange 300 index has made its best 30-month rise in history, closing on May 11 at 3,457.7. At the same time, New York's Dow Jones industrial average achieved its best nine-month performance since 1980 and closed at 1,222.58 on May 6. Now the sense of euphoria has spread beyond private clubs and corporate boardrooms to excite investors of all stripes. And as the small stock buyers jump on the

bandwagon, skeptics are increasingly reluctant to predict an imminent downward correction in prices, although a minority of analysts is vocally warning of a collapse. Still, goddam it has gotten the markets, and its hold seems difficult to break.

There is growing worldwide consensus that governments can success-

While stock-buying euphoria grips the markets, a vocal minority is predicting an imminent crash

fully walk the difficult line between economic stimulation and inflation, the bull market will easily extend into 1994 and perhaps further. Despite that growing optimism, a small number of unrepentant, high-profile bears offer a drastically different reading of the market. Interestingly scoffed at or simply ignored by the majority of their

colleagues, they warn, like latter-day Jeremiah, that the upsurge is an omen of impending doom. Some disbelievers insist that the current rally is just a blowoff before a 1929-style crash, and others contend that the market's performance is not grounded in economic reality.

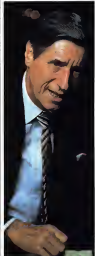
Joseph Granville, a Florida-based analyst, has issued some of the most pessimistic predictions. Granville was once the darling of the business sector because of his accurate forecasts, but his reputation has suffered for his current views. Still, in an interview with *Money*, Granville repeated with added urgency the advice that he has been giving since the onset of the rally: sell everything. Said Granville, "I'll lose my entire reputation upon it. The markets are going to go through one of their worst periods over the next 60 to 90 days." According to Granville, 1993 will go down in history as the year of a great stock market collapse like that of 1929. "There is a rapidly growing number of confabulators," he said, "with the confidence that preceded the crash of '29." The evidence, he argued, is found in

what he terms the "pyramidal" shaped price curves of gold, silver and oil in recent years. First, their prices rose dramatically, then a tremendous worldwide expansion of increased supplies forced their value down. Oil price increases, he said, over the past decade have also produced a surplus. "Today," said Granville, "the world is overflowing in oil, and down comes the price." Similar price surges and falls occurred before 1929, and they are finally repeated in the stock markets, he added. Declared Granville, "We have the hottest market for new share issues that has been seen in more than a decade. The public has no idea of the high mortality rate of the current deluge of new issues which they are mistaking for that bunch of bunnies." Citing figures from the last hot new-issue market more than two decades ago, he said that the majority of companies concerned cashed, went bankrupt or are currently operating at a loss. What is more, he said that "while this wasteful supply of paper [new stock] is being thrust into the hands of the glib public, the insiders are getting out."

The ominous spectre of 1929 is also raised by Elton Janssen, the New York-based publisher of *The Investment Letter*. Janssen, a crusty, high-profile market warrior, believes that the market is in a "blowoff" stage and that it will eventually "collide with reality." When that happens, he says, "you won't get a correction, you'll have a crash." Janssen is concerned that the economy is being underestimated, and he is appalled by the fact that the U.S. government has not been able to pass a budget. (It currently operates by means of continuing budget resolutions.) What is more, he says, the government debt itself will have to be raised on May 31 in order for the administration to simply pay its interest and social security checks. "There'll be a crash about it," he said, "and the government will be unable to sell long-term paper [30- to 35-year bonds]." Added Janssen: "If long-term rates happen, forget it." Already, investment experts are worried by the relaxation of long-term interest rates to match the drop of short-term rates, which are controlled by the Federal Reserve Board. If long-term rates begin to rise, the economy could abort.

Equally bleakish views are held by Thomas Holt, a market guru based in Westport, Conn. Said Holt, "Nobody on anybody on the street is talking about the market, and that's typical of the end of a bull market." Holt's pessimism stems from the "illiquidity of the entire economy and of the banking system." For one thing, he believes that central banks will be unable to raise the money that preceded the recovery. "We have a very unusual dichotomy in the

economy," he said. "There is an elite, made up of wealthy and the well-off elderly who have paid for their houses, who are 'getting rich at the expense of the current-paying public.' To back up that claim, he argues that the American public is paying over \$150 billion annually in interest payments on consumer and mortgage loans. On top of that, Americans are paying about \$350 billion extra a year in taxes and increased consumer prices caused by the



Granville: warnings about days ahead

hoarding of government and businesses. As for the illiquidity of the banking system, Holt points out that major U.S. banks increased their loan-loss provisions by about \$1 billion in the first quarter of 1993. Holt expects that the markets will soon lose about half the gains they have made since August. And if there is a significant rise in bank failures, he said, 300 per cent of the rise will be wiped out.

In Canada market bears are in all but vanishing spots. One of the few remaining skeptics in Toronto-based Ian McAvity, publisher of the *Debt-Free market letter*. In his latest forecast, he admits that his warning of a "March Massacre" failed to materialize on the markets. But he insists that a correction is still due. Replied McAvity: "To put it mildly, the slope of the trend from last summer is unsustainably steep. The past four bull markets, three of current level, took two to three times longer to make gains of comparable magnitude."

The views of the pessimists contrast starkly with those of the majority of analysts. Typical is Anthony Bonello, a Massachusetts expert. Says Bonello: "If the market is going to get straight up from here." One of the problems, he says, is that "people have become accustomed to a market with no trend for the past 15 to 20 years. Every time it went up it went down again." That trend has changed, he says. Bonello does not expect a major correction because "the market has been correcting all along, with different groups of stocks going down and other groups going up. It's been a healthy relationship thing, and we could well continue like this for quite a while."

In fact, many pundits suggest that a new era of prosperity for equities has begun. The U.S. publication *Business Week* recently declared that a growing body of evidence suggests that the current rally may mark "a return to a period of generally rising share prices reminiscent of the 1950s and 1960s." Said Robert Salomon, director of stock research for Salomon Bros. in New York: "From 1940 to 30 years of declining equity values have had a generation of bear-market investors who are having difficulty adjusting to the new kind of environment."

Even analysts who continue to expect a downturn are increasingly pessimistic about the date when it should occur. William Miller, a technical analyst with Merrill Lynch Royal Securities in Toronto, points out that the New York market has had 37 upturns since 1789 with an average length of 38 months or longer. As a result, it would therefore be going against all odds, he says, for the current market to correct yet.

As far as Granville is concerned, such upbeat forecasts are part of a widely created "pyramidal" pattern. All hopes and sustenance by the media. The majority view, he says, is that "we don't have to worry about a 1929-type market until we have an explosive economy that'll melt the ice at all." And although Granville and other bears are in vanishing numbers, their occasional notes of caution amid the current euphoria. ☐



Borman welcomes passengers, trying to pull out of a tailspin

Eastern's soaring debt load

Eastern Air Lines Inc., one of the most popular carriers for trans-Canada Canadians, is finally at the mercy of its creditors. Eastern spokesman Thomas Myers told *Nation's* last week that, unless the airline's creditors agree to waivers on the company's existing loan agreements, the airline will be forced to default on its loans next month. The firm, the third-largest U.S. airline, owes more than \$1 billion (U.S.) and industry analysts predict that it will continue to pile up debts as long as market pressure for discounted fares continues.

Last week, in its effort to win creditor servivements, Eastern reached an agreement with the 4,200 pilots who fly its 260 aircraft. In return for about \$500 million in deferred salaries and benefits, the pilots would accept a 10-per-cent share in the airline if the new agreement is approved by the dealmakers and Exchange Companies and ratified by the Air Line Pilots Association that week, it may allow Eastern to draw on a previously arranged \$400-million line of credit.

Roster's balance sheet has been awash in red ink ever since Congress deregulated the industry 4½ years ago in permitting airlines to set their own fares, the industry has become a breeding ground for free-for-all price-cutting, which has hurt the large unionized trunk carriers like Eastern most of all. Not only were the established carriers faced with price-cutting upstarts, but they also found that the rates they based their operations on no longer existed. Last year the company lost \$74.9 million.

Profits continued to sag even though

passengers flooded the airline. In the first quarter of 1983, 3.4 million people flew on Eastern, a 13-per-cent increase over the same period last year. But the airline lost \$60.7 million in the same period, partly because 78 per cent of its customers used discounted tickets—another feature of the price wars.

At the same time, the company has been hurt by labor disputes. Last March, to avert a strike that might have forced the company into bankruptcy at that time, Eastern's management agreed to give its mechanics and baggage handlers a huge 32-per-cent pay increase over the next three years.

Industry analysts such as Robert Joseph of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc. in New York also attribute Eastern's problems to its ambitious aircraft buying program, aimed at modernizing its fleet. Since 1977—the year in which the recession began eroding air traffic—the company has ordered 34 aircraft, valued at \$3 billion. In the process Eastern has not been able to sell its surplus aircraft.

Eastern President Frank Borman, the former Gemini astronaut, has indicated that he will try to persuade other unionized employees to follow the pilot's lead in order to pull the company out of its tailspin. Myers says the firm plans to offer its flight attendants, mechanics, clerks and baggage handlers the same type of deal the pilots accepted. Unless Eastern can show its creditors that it has the support of its employees, the lenders may be reluctant to give the airline any credit extension. And without such an extension, Eastern's future is, at best, perilous.

—CAROL BRUNMAN in Toronto

A taxing burden for distillers

It came as no surprise to the liquor industry last week that the Ontario budget raised the sales tax on alcoholic beverages by two per cent. Indeed, it has become increasingly rare for any government to pass up the opportunity to skim revenues from alcohol sales in any way it can. The outfalls vary: Quebec, for instance, did not include tax hikes in its new budget last week, but the province's liquor board had more than compensated for that feat with a recent markup on spirits from 113 to 115 per cent. What industry representatives find most disturbing in that federal and provincial levies keep raising the price of a bottle of liquor at a time when sales are weakening, small plants are closing and industry employees are losing their jobs across the country. Stephen Desautels, vice-president in charge of marketing for Hiram Walker and Sons Ltd. "The old myth that the industry is recession-proof is being quickly and completely shattered."

If present trends continue, the situation for Canadian liquor producers may only worsen. Alex Bell, director of technical services for the Association of Canadian Distillers, reports that production is running at only 46 per cent of operating capacity and sales of domestic spirits have decreased by more than one million cases (or just under two million ccs) in the past year alone. Already 200 people have lost their jobs in an industry that sustained only 1,500

workers in the best years. Like most industry insiders, Bell lays a major portion of the blame on revenue-hungry governments, although the shift to wine drinking is clearly a major part of the problem. Wine consumption rose by nine per cent last year while per capita spirits consumption fell by 0.5 per cent in the same period. As a result, Canadian distillers have not raised their prices in over a year, but the restaurant has had little effect on what the consumer pays. As proof, Claude Brochu, marketing head for Joseph E. Seagram & Sons Ltd., cites the breakdown of the cost of a bottle of rye whiskey sold in Ontario of the consumer's \$12.65 cost, the distiller's share is \$3.37; the federal government takes \$2.43; a state duty and a 56-cent sales tax; Ontario receives a markup of \$2.50 and an additional 12-per-cent sales tax of \$1.36 is tacked on, each bottle of whiskey, the distiller gets 16.6 per cent, the federal government 23.7 per cent and the province 37.5 per cent. With minor variations, the tale is the same across the country. "Ultimately, the big loser is the consumer," says Brochu.

Another industry concern is Ottawa's intention on indexing its excise tax in the alcoholic component of the consumer price index. If the average price of spirits, beer and wine goes up as a result of increased provincial taxes or hikes in the price of inputs, the federal government's excise tax automatically increases as well. That tax burden has been compounded since Ottawa introduced the penalties in the fall of 1980, and another excise tax increase from 13.1 to 15 per cent is projected for next September. "It is a seriously unfair tax, and, so far, attempts to get Ottawa to change the formula have failed," says Desautels. "Indexation means that these increases just keep stacking up."

While this tower of assorted federal and provincial taxes may seem like a straitjacket to hard-pressed government coffers now—Ottawa alone takes in \$560 million annually from taxes on alcohol—critics predict that the loan cannot continue. In the short run, they say, the increased market and consequently reduced consumption affects only distillers. But as the results of reduced sales filter down the pipeline, they damage such related industries as farming, glass and paper products. And in the end, decreased sales mean reduced revenues for federal and provincial governments. "Clearly, it is the law of diminishing returns," explains Desautels. "The logical extension is that one day a bottle of spirits is going to cost \$500 million, and there will be no person in the entire country with the cash to buy it. What will the governments do then?"

—LEONARD DUBOIS in Toronto

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Still down but definitely not out

By Peter C. Newman

"I could be argued to be 30 years older than when I started this whole process five years ago," says Victor Rize, the embattled chief executive officer of Massey-Penguen Ltd., the combine tractor maker that keeps threatening to reinvent itself. "But I feel all right. We've rationalized our capacity to 1985 sales, we could break even."

That's a bold statement from the head of a company that has just reported a first-quarter loss of \$4.4 million—after suffering a record-shattering deficit of \$1.138 billion over the past five years. What gives some weight to Rize's optimism is that the downturn in farm implement sales has been going on for seven years. One of those days farmers will simply have to start replacing their equipment. Massey's tractor sales in North America declined by a stunning 66 per cent last year. The Canadian Farm and Industrial Equipment Institute expects that only 35,000 new units will be sold this year—down 11,500 from 1979. Certainly, there is the prospect of a turnaround in 1983 U.S. sales because President Ronald Reagan's "payment in kind" policy will take 80 million acres of farmland out of production.

During most of the past half decade Massey has been clobbered by every adverse element except acts of God. Massey's prospects remain dubious, but the stock market seems to have decided that the company could be on the verge of a resurrection similar to Chrysler's. A buying stampede forced the stock to the top of the market-averse list earlier this month, boosting prices by 40 per cent. With no real earnings in sight and virtually no book value, this sounds even more insane than the market's usual value judgments. But with interest rates at a more reasonable level, the British pound weak enough to help Massey's internal engine transactions, and the pent-up demand from farmers, the company may have a chance of making it. If and when there is a turnaround, its manufacturing and administrative structures have been so honed down that increased sales will flow almost directly to the bottom line.

In the process of trying to salvage the company, Rize has created a corporate monster. If all the builders of convertibles preferred shares eventually convert their holdings into common stock and

all warrants for new shares are exercised, Massey will own an unbelievable 105.6 million common shares outstanding. It is also the world's first state-controlled multinational, since the governments of Ontario, Canada, the United Kingdom and France now control about 65 per cent of its equity.

A minor setback for the company came last week when shareholders rejected a management proposal to convert series A and B preferred shares into common stock. The move would



Rize: the farmers have to start buying

have made a possible new issue of common shares more attractive in the United States, where preferred shares are regarded as debt. But pointing to the surge in Massey's stock price on the markets, the preferred shareholders held out for a better conversion price. The management must now decide whether or not to accommodate them.

Still, the company has a second major refinancing plan firmly in place. The first step (a \$750-million rollover completed in 1981) staved off immediate

bankruptcy. And on March 7, 1983, Massey signed a \$600-million package, negotiated with 355 banks, which included agreement by the lenders from the original group to take common shares instead of interest as well as a \$40-million investment by the French government. For the first time since 1976, no lender will be able to actually pull the plug on Massey. Rize may not sell many tractors but he knows how to manipulate international bankers.

The result of all this fiscal foot-clopping is that between Jan. 31, 1983, and the taking up of the newly issued shares (on a fully diluted basis) Massey-Penguen's outstanding equity will swell from 51.4 million to 105.6 million shares. Apart from the huge quantity involved, what's really remarkable is that if company finances improve, Rize intends to go back to the equity market for even more financing.

The other new element in the Massey picture is the survival of the company itself. Farmers have been cut from 68,729 to 29,500, and more names are to be dropped, including the staff of the company's downtown Toronto plant. Factory space has been reduced by more than a third, and by the end of this year all manufacturing will have ceased in the United States. Some 16 plants will have been closed, but, paradoxically, the company's output hasn't declined all that much. It remains the world's largest tractor producer and second-largest maker of combine harvesters.

Rize has utilized the drastic restructuring to diversify Massey. It now also makes a new line of hydraulic equipment in West Germany, operates a casting foundry at Kassel, West, and a harrier division in Fort Lauderdale. It deals mainly with South American countries that want to buy tractors but can't have the cash.

Head office costs have been severely cut, and only one vice-president has survived in his senior rank since Rize took over. To negotiate on his skill with "downsizing," Rize has gone into partnership with Wypich Bailey & Associates, a Toronto consulting firm, to form Verrity Associates. It will find jobs for abruptly terminated executives.

Victor Rize himself isn't worried about his own future. With his company losing a record \$413 million in 1982, he was rewarded with a pay and benefits package totaling \$254,000—a 48-per-cent boost from the year before when Massey lost only \$246 million.

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Mind over what really matters

By Trent Frayne

The next thing some people want to know about Carling Bassett is how good will she be when she reaches how good she is.

Some of her previous performances are too young to be scared. They don't recognize the lead they're carrying, such as *Andy Blag*, the cool young Oliver Sauter. Two years ago, when Andy was 21, he was a rookie star in the upset of the once-impenetrable Cardinals. His surprised note that he was so calm, "I guess I wasn't nervous but then because I didn't realize what the playoffs were all about or the full measure of what I was doing," he confessed to *The Toronto Star's Frank Orr*. "It was a long time before I got my feet back on the ground."

Some athletes are terrific as long as they're behind on the scoreboard. They're loose and relaxed. But when it's tight, when they're tied or barely ahead and the opponent is growing, it's the great ones who produce. The not-so-greats produce when it's meaningless. How many times have you seen a relief pitcher come into a ball game trailing by a run and do a great job? Suddenly he hasn't lost the score, and, bang, he's the first batter he faces and the next guy gets a base hit. On the brink of winning he starts to think, "Hey, I better be careful."

Positive thoughts, that's what every pitcher strives for, an ability not to consider the consequences of a mistake. Negative thoughts pull the nerves a little tighter, make a smooth delivery a little tougher.

I remember talking about this once with Goose Gossage, the Yankees relief pitcher. He had just come from one of the most exhilarating games in baseball history, the unforgettable sudden-death playoff in which the Yankees chased the Red Sox for the American League's east division title.

Gossage went in in the seventh inning with one out and the Yankees ahead by five. He had the slowest lead, one run. Cramped Little Fenway Park was bellows as Boston's beloved Red Sox mounted repeated threats, none so palpating as in the bottom of the ninth when they got the tying and winning runs on the bases with one out and their last three hitters due to swing the bats, Jim Rice and Carl Yastrzemski.

But Gossage emerged intact, putting down the my, massive Rice on a left fly to the outfield and the slowest Yastr-

zemski on firing the ball. Gossage said, "When a pitcher becomes very, very good the next series to deal with far more than the opponents. Surrounding success are the joys of the Fourth Estate, and our numbers have been increased 10 fold, it seems, by the masses of the electronic media, as the border with their lights and nylon and cables and minicams are called when what they see called is printable. And there are also the fans."

"It was better when I was obscure and no one knew who I was or recognized me," Mong remembers of his anonymous youth. "I could go to restaurants and no one asked for an autograph. But I guess it goes with the territory."

Not every star is as philosophical. There is, for instance, Red Cowley, who is 27 and has been in the American League forever and who in 1977 hit .388 after flirting with the magic of .400 for most of a summer. This year Cowley is off on an aerial beginning with the weekly California Angels, hitting .320 well into May. It won't last, of course, but not entirely because of rival pitchers and the laws of probability. There are the risk-takers who choose to posterize old Red. "This year seems to be easier than 1977 because I'm getting a little more gravity from the media this time," Cowley says. "That year people were practically hanging out my door."

As for Carling Bassett, who knows if she will be able to handle the forces when she becomes a woman? A month ago she took Chris Evert to 7-6 in the third set of a marvelous match in the final round of a big tournament at a Florida spa called Anadia Island. She was the delight of the week, a slender, fearless kid of 15 in a blond pigtail who knocked off three seeded internationalists en route to a final in which she went right after Evert once she shocked an early case of nerves. Then she faced the heavy rubber for the first time in her young life. She was bewildered and bewildering as the practiced questions came pouring in, as though she were a victor watching the word process. She figured questions, steering silent for long moments, her mouth slightly open and eyes wide, and then she tried to reply. A guy wanted to know if there would be more pressure on her now. She thought about it. "Um, well, it's just, um, I guess people will expect more, um, but, uh..." And then she broke into a wide, sunny smile, a child does to know how good she really is.

He stayed off into his thoughts, two huge young men miles and miles removed from the low-ceilinged room in the bowels of the stadium. "I just think about the moments and then I remember as firing the ball," Gossage said.

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AP/WIDE

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Abortion goes to trial



Borowski (left), Shumatcher, arguing that a fetus deserves to be judged a person

Joseph Borowski's long-sustained legal challenge to Canada's abortion law finally reached the courts in Regina last week. He began his campaign after resigning as Manitoba highway minister in 1971 over the provincial government's use of taxpayers' money to pay for abortions. Borowski's aim was to strike down the 1969 amendment to the Criminal Code that allows therapeutic abortions when a hospital committee decides that the mental or physical health of the mother is in jeopardy. During Borowski's 12-year mission, he was sentenced to jail for refusing to pay his income tax and in 1980 he staged a highly publicized 80-day hunger strike to protest the abortion laws. But the landmark Regina trial, which is expected to last a month in the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench and may eventually reach the Supreme Court of Canada, is Borowski's most potent weapon in his quest to stop abortions in Canada. Borowski is attempting to use testimony by world-renowned medical experts to prove that a fetus

deserves to be considered a person from the instant of conception. If he has his way, the rights of the unborn will be protected under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Pro-choice demonstrators maintained a daily vigil at protest on the steps of the Regina courthouse. Inside, the courtroom swarmed with the testimony of witnesses called by Maria Shumatcher, the Saskatchewan Regina civil rights lawyer who is acting on behalf of Borowski. The crux of Borowski's challenge hinges on Section 7 of the Charter of Rights. It states: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived of the same except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice." It is expected that Edward Seckwitz, the defending federal government lawyer, will argue that the Criminal Code takes precedence over the charter in cases concerning abortion.

After getting the court's permission to call nine witnesses, Shumatcher last

week embarked on the task of establishing the crucial point of his argument: that a fetus is a person. Among the experts whom Shumatcher called were Jérôme LeGros, the University of Paris geneticist who discovered the extra-chromosome defect in babies born with Down's syndrome, and Dr. William Liley, the New Zealand physician who refuted the process known as amniocentesis, in which the amniotic fluid surrounding the fetus is tested for abnormalities. During Liley's five hours in the witness box, he testified that he believed a cell becomes an individual at fertilization. "It is a life-sustaining, intact, human organism," he said.

Outside the courtroom, pro-choice supporters protested against the proceedings before Mr. Justice William MacKinnon. "I find it disgusting to find eight to 12 men discussing women's bodies, reproductive cycles, organs and experiences there," charged Bonnie Johnson, regional representative of the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League. After Borowski had testified that he believed abortion was murder and later told reporters that Planned Parenthood was in the forefront of abortion in Canada, Johnson was visibly angry. "I think Mr. Borowski is off his nut," she said.

Meanwhile, in Winnipeg pro-choice advocates and antiabortionists exchanged their frustrations over Dr. Henry Morgentaler's newly opened abortion clinic. Antiabortionists were furious because Attorney General Robert Frenkel did not promise Morgentaler after he announced that the clinic had performed its first abortion last week. Pro-choice advocates, on the other hand, demanded that Frenkel investigate the conduct of Manitoba's newly appointed justice, Alfred Madden. Madden admitted having donated money earlier this year, before his appointment as chief justice, to the League for Life of Manitoba, an anti-abortion group that listed his name—as A. W. Madden—among 37,000 others in an advertisement in the Winnipeg Free Press. Last last week Justice Minister Mark McGehegan indicated that Judge Madden's stand was being studied by the Canadian Judicial Council, a tribunal of the country's 27 chief justices.

Pro-choice lawyers will also invoke the new Charter of Rights. They have launched a challenge in the Supreme Court of Ontario, where they will argue that the charter guarantees a woman's right to choose whether or not she will terminate a pregnancy. And Jack London, dean of law at the University of Manitoba: "This case, and other companion cases to the abortion issue, will force the Supreme Court to face the central question of abortion."

—DAVID ROSEN in Regina



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Nuclear power's soft underbelly

By Rita Christopher

The angry Nukes that live New York's Hudson River are best known as the place where Rip Van Winkle slept away 30 years. But today there is nothing sleepy about the river. It has become the center of a heated national debate on the safety of nuclear power plants in a move that represents another serious blow to a beleaguered industry, the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). The NRC has ordered two major nuclear facilities along the Hudson River to shut down by June 9 unless a more effective plan is developed for evacuating the local population in case of serious accident. The NRC decision arose out of the unwillingness of local officials to cooperate in a federally requested evacuation plan.

The NRC made its ruling in the wake of the confused reactions after the semi-catastrophic March, 1979, breakdown at the nuclear-generating plant at Three Mile Island, Pa. But the provision has also given new headaches to an industry already reeling from stagnant demand for electricity, soaring plant construction costs and other official rulings. In a recent industry development, for example, the NRC two weeks later found the operators of New Jersey's Salem nuclear plant \$600,000 for deficiencies in safety procedures—the largest such fine ever imposed.

Potentially the industry's most pressing short-term problem, however, is the federal demand for emergency evacuation plans for communities around the nation's nuclear facilities. So far, none of the 83 operating nuclear sites in the United States (87 more are under construction) is in real danger of being shut down. Of those only 16 have developed approved evacuation plans. Officials in U.S. jurisdictions will without plans have been using the federal requirements to extract expensive funds for highways and bridges from nuclear companies and are demanding that they pay a large share of the cost of

new evacuation plans. In contrast, in Canada the governments of Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, the only provinces with nuclear power facilities, are responsible for emergency planning procedures. Evacuation programs are developed by the provincial authorities in consultation with the power utilities that operate the plants. All plans are implemented by government workers, not volunteers, and the operations

problem was the absolute refusal of area bus drivers, volunteer firemen and other personnel in nearby Rockland County to participate in the evacuation scheme jostled down up by county officials and power company consultants. Now, local politicians claim that there is insufficient planning and state funding for the emergency program to succeed. Indeed, during a dry run of the emergency evacuation plan last March, New York state workers had to stand in for the reluctant Rockland County volunteers. Still, Richard Krimer, head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which is charged with overseeing evacuation drills, believes that the present defects can be corrected. "If the State of New York could develop a plan whereby they could ensure resources to Rockland County to handle emergency operations, that would be satisfactory," he said.

So far, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo has been reluctant to embolden his government in the problem. "We have no legal responsibility as a state," said Cuomo. He has asked for a report by New York state's Disaster Preparedness Commission and suggests it might call for federal assistance. Says Cuomo press aide Benay Weiss, "The governor feels that since the federal government is involved in the licensing process, they should become involved in other areas—such as emergency planning."

Still, few people believe that the Indian Point complex will close down. The siting ruling requires the utilities to show signs of progress by June 9, not a fully finished evacuation document. "I think the decision essentially gives the power company an extension to work their way out," said antinuclear activist John. She accuses the attitudes of pocketing virtually unaided signs of higher consumer energy costs in the quest of plants being shut down. For their part, Consolidated Edison and the N.Y. Power Authority claim a shutdown could cost \$25 billion. The rest to the U.S. industry would be far more.



Indian Point nuclear complex: now headaches for a beleaguered industry

must be tested at least once a year.

Last week U.S. attention was focused on Indian Point plants 2 and 3, a 66 km north of New York City. Since the Three Mile Island breakdown, antinuclear forces have worked tirelessly to close the complex—situated in one of the most densely populated areas of the country. "When Indian Point construction began in 1968, no one thought about problems like this," says John Holt, a spokesman for the antinuclear New York Public Interest Research Group. "There is no way anyone today, not even the NRC, would allow nuclear plants at such a site." But officials of Consolidated Edison Co. and the New York Power Authority, which each operates one of the Indian Point plants, assert that company figures show an accident regarding evacuation could occur at the site only once in 10,000 years.

The June 9 NRC ultimatum, however, has nothing directly to do with the technical capabilities of the plants. The

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A vital clue to AIDS

Laboratory sleuths who have been working to unravel the mystery behind the incurable disease known as AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) have come up with their first promising lead since AIDS was first identified in the United States almost two years ago. Last week two separate U.S. research teams published studies that demonstrated a possible link between AIDS and a blood virus that causes a rare kind of leukemia/lymphoma. Investigators report that they have detected evidence of human T-cell leukemia virus (HTLV) in a significant sample of AIDS patients. But they stress that they still have no proof that the virus actually causes the disease.

The studies, both published in Washington, D.C.-based *Science* magazine, were led by Dr. Max Essex of Harvard University's School of Public Health and Dr. Robert Gallo of the U.S. National Cancer Institute (NCI) in Bethesda, Md. The Essex study found evidence of HTLV in blood serum taken from roughly 55 of 76 U.S. AIDS victims who were studied. AIDS patients are usually "book-full" of infections, said Essex. But a comparative survey of a non-AIDS control group suffered from a gamut of similar infections turned up almost no evidence of HTLV. At the same time, Gallo, who in 1980 was the first scientist to isolate the HTLV virus, reported that he has succeeded in isolating it from the blood cells of AIDS victims.

There is increasing urgency in the search for a cure. AIDS has already claimed 548 lives in the United States and 16 in Canada. The disease appears to be concentrated among promiscuous male homosexuals, intravenous drug abusers, and Haitians and drug users of both sexes who inject. "One of the fascinating things about the discovery," said an spokesman Dr. Peter Fischinger, "is that both AIDS and HTLV affect the same target cell." That target is the T-cell, a white blood cell that is crucial to the body's immunity system. Those cells, which multiply at a cancerous rate in HTLV leukemia victims, are drastically depleted in AIDS victims. The multiple evidence of some connection between HTLV and AIDS is as far as completely convincing. But it has created a dramatic break in a mystery that until recently defied any attempt to crack its secrets.

—BRUCE D. JENSEN in Toronto



Rollard (left) leaving court; jurors' school-bus roundup remained a secret

JUSTICE

The power of contempt

By Anne Belrose

When lawyers for the CBC and Montreal's four daily newspapers appear in Quebec Superior Court this week to defend their clients on contempt of court charges, they will join an increasing number of their colleagues called to defend freedom of speech in the Quebec press against hard-line judicial interpretations of contempt. Last January the five news organizations, *La Presse*, *Le Journal de Montreal*, *Le Gazette*, *Le Devoir* and the *Cite*, reported an accusation by Jean-Claude Berthoin, spokesman for the Prosecutors' Rights Committee of the Quebec Civil Liberties Union. The committee charged that since a July riot at Quebec's Archaebell stadium security limitations, during which three guards and two spectators died, being quadruple at the penitentiary had been deplorable. A week later, when the trial of 10 convicts for the murder of two of the guards began, Mr. Justice Jean-Guy Boivin cited Berthoin and the media outlets with contempt for holding and reporting on the news conference.

The media repeatedly insist that contempt provisions are too vague. Indeed, federal Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan received a series of proposed recommendations from the Law Reform Commission of Canada in March, 1982, that would define the parameters of contempt of court—the only offense that is not spelled out in detailed legal language in the Criminal Code. News-

write, in Quebec the media are warring themselves rather than facing possibly long and costly court appearances. Says one Montreal lawyer: "Everyone here is afraid of contempt of court these days."

On April 27, in another contempt-related incident, CBC-TV backed out of the Quebec broadcast of the nationally televised program the *AIDS* finale rather than risk another contempt of court situation. Senior producer Ron Haggart said that the CBC was satisfied that its interview with self-admitted under-world villain Donald Lowrie would not interfere with a Montreal court case at which Lowrie was a scheduled witness. Still, the Crown corporation chose not to risk a Quebec judge's opposing view that might have led to an injunction curtailing the program throughout the country. (The CBC finally showed the interview in Montreal on May 11, after the jury in the trial had been sequestered.) The network's *La Presse* reporter Louise Cassegrain mentioned Lowrie and other Montreal crime figures in a television column about the broadcast and was promptly cited for contempt.

For its part, Montreal's CTV affiliate, CFCF-TV, is galling back on its traditionally aggressive reporting of court cases. The CFCF vice-president of TV news, Michel Desjardins, says that "there is an area of sensitivity now that did not exist before." Last fall CFCF-TV and reporter Robert Vane were fined \$1,000 and \$600 respectively for a televised news report in which Claude Dubois, an

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trial for murder, was identified as a "well-known, underworld figure." He was subsequently convicted and is currently serving a life sentence.

The guy had written a book about his life, so we figured his notoriety was established as a well-known fact. The judge disagreed," says Desjardis. The station has since adopted a more cautious approach to news coverage of court cases. When the Arsenault trial trial began, Roloff sent out a shorted and a wheel but to stand up potential jurors in the town of St. Jerome, 72 km north of Montreal. Desjardis says that once was "highly reluctant" to see the film of the jury members because of the possibility that Roloff might consider it prejudicial to a fair trial. "We put a hold on the film until we had phoned [the court on] St. Jerome to make sure it was wise," he said.

Senior producer Haggart said that he was certain the fifth estate would have eventually been found not guilty of contempt. "But a year from now, when we're in the Supreme Court, who would ever be said [the legal counsel] there? Honey explained that "what's going on contempt of court can be a costly and a time-consuming exercise."

Some Quebec news organizations with large resources and legal departments are clearly adopting a conservative approach to court coverage. But *La Presse* is taking political commentator and interviewer Marc Lévesque, himself a lawyer, who is going to the Supreme Court to seek the right to an unprecedented jury trial in a criminal case. In a *La Presse* column last fall Lévesque questioned the wisdom of this unusual use of police informers like Donald Locke as primary sources in Crown cases. Cited for contempt, Lévesque says that he wants a jury trial because "I believe that a judge, faced to choose between his own power and the power of the press, will choose his own power. Contempt of court tried by a judge alone is a conflict of interest."

The federal government has begun to move on the question. Norman Hill, project chief on a justice department contempt of court study, says that they plan to submit their recommendations to MacGilligan by June. Hill says that MacGilligan would like to present proposals for amendments to the Criminal Code to the Commons by the fall.

Until that time, according to Law Reform Commissioner Alan Chairman Brian Paul, "If you plan to commit a murder or a sexual offense, the law is clear on what constitutes an offense and what the penalties are." But when it comes to contempt, only the judge can decide. For their part, anxious members of the Quebec press would like to see the rules clarified. ♦

MEDIA WATCH

Trash, the *Globe* and Not-Nice journalism

By George Bain

I have always been my innocent belief that it is the purpose of newspapers to publish news. Since government budgets are supposed to be secret until delivered, the leakage of budget information beforehand is news. What that leaves me, in looking at the spine of letters beating the office of *The Globe* and *Mail* for publishing carelessly disclosed bits from the Ontario provincial treasurer's then-undisclosed budget, is half-believing that many Canadians consider the nature of news to be altered by the circumstances in which it is done by. Picking it out of garbage cans, closets and Mail readers in their houses have been declaring vehemently in Not On Without this letter, typical of many: "A few politically motivated people are calling for Treasurer Frank Miller's resignation [*The Globe* and *Mail*, incidentally was not. I am calling for the firing of *The Globe* and *Mail* reporter who initiated the story and a public apology from the paper."

If we accept that it is the business of newspapers to publish news and that it makes no difference as to how the news is obtained, then the fact that the province treasurer's budget security isn't what he intends or thinks it to be—certainly it seems to have come as news to Frank Miller that his wasn't—what a reporter Robert Shapiro is he fond of? For having found the news in a couple of garbage bags left outside the suburban Toronto plant where the budget was being printed? But if that is the offense, what we are being asked to accept is the perspective that news gathered in circumstances that are Not Nice—garbage bags, ugly, yucky!—is not news.

As for a public apology—to whom, and for what? Circumstances are imaginable—part—in which information in the hands of a reporter would be withheld voluntarily because publication might endanger national security. But that sort of thing is hardly commonplace. I have never found the nation's face trembling in my hands and not know anyone who has. Letting aside that sort of rare occurrence, it is not the business of newspapers to protect government secrets; the responsibility for keeping secrets secret belongs to the people who have the secrets. No part of it can be pushed off onto the newspapers, which weren't asked to share it and would surely refuse if they were.

Newspapers are not any sort of adjuncts of government. They are not official gazettes existing to publish court notes and sanctioned accounts of events. Before *The Globe* and *Mail* started beating their readers about the garbage bag paper, there were already people writing scathing letters to editors complaining about the media having been Not Nice to Finance Minister Marc Lalonde, who had been as much to blame for his budget in front of the cameras, a reminder of the fact that cameras take pictures. Those letter writers were stuck into a misconception of the role of the media by Lalonde's claim that the picture-taking was "hostility to the spirit of the mission." That was a fraud, designed to lead the picture people to the official purpose. What Lalonde's remark implied was that the cameramen should consent to join in as a stooge, making publicity primers for the department of finance and forget that he had come as a newspaper. But the cameramen were there for news, and a finance minister playing fast with his budget is irrefutably that.

Admittedly, I am not impartial about *The Globe* and *Mail*. I am a newspaper for the paper and have had a long association with it. But it does seem to me, and long has, that we have a terrible tendency in this country to be easy on our news—much more so than people in the United States or Britain. The backdrop of the prime minister's bizarre marriage was treated with delicate circumspection, not because it had no bearing on his public career—it had, it reflected very much on his judgment—but because it was Not Nice to talk about it. The peculiar activities of the motor a few years ago, which the McDonald royal commission eventually inquired into with negligible consequences, brought hundreds of admonishing letters to newspapers that reported on it because to write bad things about a national institution was Not Nice. No Watergate could have been exposed here—the shabby and corrupt cover of the misdeeds of the Security Service made a not-bad equivalent—because it would have been Not Nice.

True, it is Not Nice to go digging through garbage. But not to be curious enough to inquire if the public business can be pushed off as it is said to be carried on is worse than Not Nice, it is lousy journalism. ♦

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FOR THE RECORD

A blue-eyed reggae band

CAROO
Men at Work
(CBS)

With a first album that scored fabulously sales—200,000 copies in Canada alone—Australia's Men at Work proved that a little rhythm can go a long way. However, a style that was once the first time has become mainstream in the group's second album. A couple of tunes, *Dr. Hook* and *Mr. Love* and *Overkill*, lead lives of their own as a deftly executed house, but the rest are little more than blue-eyed reggae, reminiscent of better bands such as The Police and UB40. Missing matters were, at least five songs display terrific personas with simplistic rhyme schemes, such as "Have to pull it together/We're in for some stormy weather." Relying heavily on his secret, Colin Hay does not sing as much as interpret. And in the two songs that are to be seriously romantic—*No Sign of Yesterday* and *Blue for You*—the results are flat and undramatic. In fact, the only sign of personality in the album is in the photographs on the inner sleeve. There, the members of the band wear bandanas and sit on toilets. It may not be as amusing as they think it is, but it does seem entirely appropriate.

LETS DANCE
David Bowie
(Capitol)

Reggae David Bowie has recently been telling the world that he is cutting off his old flamboyant persona, much like expected *Let's Dance* to be a major departure. It is not. More subdued than the heavily gestured *Scream* albums with the robotic dance music, the new album depends on Bowie's signature vocalizing for charm. On the title track his voice rises like a sun brightly colored band out of the funky underbrush created by the coproducer, Nile Rodgers, already a legend for his work with Chic. Compared to last year's sound-track version, produced by Giorgio Moroder, the new rendering of *Cat People* (Putting Out Third eye and some of his blatant parody). The album does have its gaffs, such as the senseless generalizations of *China Girl*. Although Bowie is less provocative than in his previous work, he is still not the dull person he says he is. —DAVID LIVINGSTON

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As a result of information revealed in this book, the RCMP between April 12 and April 20, 1983, made four raids including one on the author's home and seized various documents concerning a former RCMP officer accused of selling secrets to the KGB.

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TRANSPORTATION

Investigating the disasters

When a staff member of the federal government's new Aviation Safety Engineering Facility (ASEF) steps into the witness box at the Ocean Ranger oil rig inquiry in St. John's next month, the weight of one of the world's best accident investigations will come to bear on one of the most dramatic and controversial disasters in recent Canadian history. The little-known Ottawa facility, which began in 1980 and has a staff of 30 engineers and technicians, is charged with investigating all Canadian and air crashes in which the cause is not obvious. But because the ASEF has the latest diagnostic equipment and expertise, it also investigates other major civil accidents, such as the Feb. 15, 1982, sinking of the Ocean Ranger off Newfoundland which killed 84 crewmen. William Hendricks, chief of the Washington-based aviation accident division of the National Transportation Safety Board, gives the Ottawa facility a top rating. "It is definitely the best I have seen," he said. "The methodology and equipment you have up there is probably more advanced than ours."

Part of the reason for the development of the Canadian investigation unit is the relatively large size of the civil air fleet. With 24,000 planes, the fleet is second in number only to that of the United States in the West. As a result, ASEF staffers investigated about 50 to 60 per cent of the 548 air crashes in 1982. Roughly 35 per cent of the ASEF's time is devoted to investigations of rail, highway or marine accidents such as the Ocean Ranger's. The work of ASEF's 17 staff engineers was complicated by inadequate space until its move into a \$4-million facility on the National Research Council's compound near Ottawa International Airport in July. Despite the obstacles, the centre's reputation was still so high that it was asked to investigate accidents in the United States, Norway, New Zealand and Thailand. For example, the lab recently investigated the cause of the crash of a Sikorsky S-61 helicopter in Thailand in the summer of 1982. The helicopter went down, killing all 14 people on board including the Canadian pilot. The lab subsequently discovered that the accident was caused by a failure in the tail rotor system. Thailand called the request to ASEF because that country lacks the facilities to in-

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vestigate a crash of this nature. Transport Canada automatically refers all civil air crashes with unclear status to the ASST or one of its six regional offices across the country for investigation. When the cause of the crash is clear-cut, the regional offices file a written report with Transport Canada which is then filed in the *Report of Aircraft Accidents*, published five times a year. When a regional office cannot solve the mystery, engineers from the Ottawa lab travel to the crash site and conduct field research. Alternatively, regional offices may send in pairs of a plane to Ottawa for study. At any one time the lab handles as many as 150 investigations. In the case of a major air disaster, a "go team" of 20 investigators goes to the accident site, where it can spend as long as a month gathering evidence. Once the Ottawa's officials are satisfied that they know the cause of an accident, they avoid red tape and issue mandatory directives if lives are in danger. For example, when a Canadian Challenger jet's crew had to make an emergency landing on March 31 at Ottawa's airport, ASST investigators converged to determine the cause. Before the day ended, they had met with Canadian officials at the airport and staff from Transport Canada's airworthiness division to discuss their findings. They found that the lack of a wing had separated from the plane because rods holding it in place were not strong enough to handle the load. The next day, Transport Canada issued a mandatory order directing all owners and operators of the plane to check the rods for cracks. Four days later Canadian announced it would make a permanent modification to the manufacturing process of the rods to correct the fault.

The ASST's investigation into the Comair Ranger started last July when a staff engineer was sent to work with drivers who were removing parts of the swollen rig from 17 in below the snow's slushy surface. Subsequently, ASST staff worked with U.S. accident experts to try to develop a theory about why the supposedly unshrinkable rig exploded. But it will soon begin analyzing seven conditions in the Ottawa lab in an effort to explore their hypothesis that water entered the rig's control room through a wire-shattered porthole and short-circuited the rig's control panel, thereby starting a chain of events that led to the disaster. Says Terry Henkel, Transport Canada's chief aviation safety engineer "I think the commission will sit up and take notice when it hears [our] testimony." And he asserts that the lab's probe into the oil rig disaster could prevent a similar accident from occurring again. "That is what everybody is aiming for—to ensure lives are saved. That is why we are here." —DICK LAWRENCE in Ottawa.



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A scene from *Blade Runner*; Chappell (below) nuclear-armed terrorists?

CRIME

21st-century outlaws

The International Space Agency continued to monitor the location of a space shuttle, *Spokhok*, last night while on a flight from Vladivostok in the U.S.S.R. to an orbiting Soviet space station. Communications with the spacecraft indicated that they were members of the Ukrainian Liberation Front who claimed responsibility for a number of recent terrorist incidents in the U.S.S.R., including the destruction of a giant synthetic oil plant in the Ukraine and a bomb explosion in the Kremlin which killed more than 200 people, including a Russian deputy premier. The *Spokhoks* were threatening to destroy the shuttle and space station unless 75 of their compatriots were released from prison and given safe passage to Poland. It was believed that among the passengers in the shuttle were a number of prominent Soviet scientists, as well as a leading space star, *Sergei Korolev*, who was to have given a concert for workers in the space station.

Fortunately, the space shuttle hijackers exist only in the imagination of British Columbia criminologist Douglas Chappell. But based on current crime trends, Chappell argues that his space fantasy could become reality by the 21st century. Chappell, chairman of the department of criminology at Vancouver's Simon Fraser University, has been speculating on the

types of crimes that will be committed at the turn of the century. In a paper published in *partly The Vancouver Sun* last month, he predicted, among other things, that the rogues of the future will want more than their victims' wallets and that some will not hesitate to kill people in order to sell them placental for organ transplants on an illicit space-guns market. He also forecasted such other penalties for damaging the environment. While Chappell's specific predictions appear fanciful, he is confident about one of them: the next century will not be a utopia, crime-free age. He believes that four key factors—increased population growth and density, political and cultural instability, fluctuating moral and religious values, and technological developments—will change the shape of crime in the future. And Chappell warns that there should be more strategic planning in crime prevention.

"Apart from some speculation about the impact of population trends and new technologies like the computer upon patterns of criminal behavior," he

argued, "criminologists have been largely occupied with immediate and contemporary problems."

Chappell plans to write a book about future crime, but so far he says his preliminary paper has stirred only mild interest among other criminologists. "I was quite surprised. People say it is interesting, that they go back to dig into the present," the provocative predictions might be a reason. In addition to body snatchers, Chappell speculates that, due to nuclear proliferation, 21st-century criminals will also have to worry about criminals armed with nuclear weapons and terrorists who will move from passive to mass killings in order to draw attention to their political causes.

The future will be most bleak, he argues, for those unfortunate born in developing countries. Large cities, such as São Paulo in Brazil, will not be able to provide needed police services for their growing populations. Said Chappell, "Life, in short, promises to be exceedingly unpleasant for a substantial proportion of the world's population defined five to seven centuries and started megametropolises throughout the Third World." High unemployment, he added, will likely contribute to civil strife in Canada. But he hopes Canada and the other Western democracies will not succumb to such negative influences as those used in the People's Republic of China. There, an authoritarian regime transformed Shanghai—the wickedest city in the world—into a law-shedding showplace at enormous costs to human freedom, Chappell said.

The temptation to use considerably sterner prevention measures will be heightened, however, because police will have new, sophisticated inventions and access to satellite surveillance to track criminals and collect evidence.

In many countries, Chappell says, technology will be used to enforce laws that are based on fundamental religious codes, such as Islamic, which demands flagging for adulterers and death for those who drink. The Muslim religion seems to be experiencing a renaissance which could well continue into the next century, bringing with it more repressive rules and punitive penalties for crime. For much of the world's population, the Ayatollah Khomeini's Tehran could be the face of the future.

—MALCOLM GRAY
in Vancouver



DOUGLAS CHAPPELL

PHOTOGRAPH BY [illegible]



Marjula Baranyasz, eight years old. Very thin. Heavily made of bones and cow dung. Too small for family of four. No electricity or sanitation.

Must Marjula live with hopelessness?



Marjula is a Third World Child. She lives, daily, with hunger, uncertainty, illiteracy and other hopelessness. Her family exists on three acres of non-irrigated land. Mother and father work together in the field—which yields only one crop per year, and very little income. They look for other work as laborers—sometimes they can earn \$35 a day. The total of their income is \$150 a year. They owe \$125. Marjula's sister is working too—she had to leave school after Grade IV. Thanks to her help, the family diet of millet and rice is supplemented by meat—once a month.

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THEATRE

Demise of a free spirit

JENNIE'S STORY
By Betty Lambert
Directed by Rob Glendon

Jennie's Story by Vancouver playwright Betty Lambert sadly illustrates a case history of why many Canadian plays do not fulfil their potential. Set in the 1930s, the drama tells of an Alberta farm girl reduced by a painful prison who then has her sterilized under the guise of an appendectomy. Mythically creative and emotionally explosive, the poetic script desperately needed rewriting when the play first appeared in 1981 at Vancouver's New Play Centre. The production version is the latest version produced by Toronto's Centredstage company and scheduled for Alberta Theatre Projects in Calgary in January, 1984.

The drama takes place several years after the sterilization. An evasive free spirit, Jennie (Nora McLellan) is married to Harry (Michael Hagan), a pig-breeder who improbably speaks poetry by Gerard Manley Hopkins and once impulsively killed a man. Unable to conceive, Jennie goes away to find out what her husband and insanely furious mother (Clare Coulter) finally know. In her absence, their young neighbor, Molly (Denise Napier), Jennie's sister-in-law, takes on the pregnant body and soul, does the chores. But after Jennie returns and violently condemns her family and the priest, Father Paley (William Mookridge), with the tragedy, she commits suicide. Jennie's spirit returns, however, through Molly's eyes, both are taken in by Harry, and the eternal cycle rolls on.

The fatal confusion that still bugs for explanations at the heart of Lambert's powerful melodrama centers on Jennie herself. To have her sterilized under provincial law at the time, Paley tried to demonstrate that she was retarded and therefore liable to "accidental evil." Neither the melodramatic performance nor how he did it. After the disappointing first act, the play degenerates into a series of false leads and misplaced emphasis which strip Lambert's visceral images of sense and decorum. By accepting what is merely good enough and not the best, she and the producers have done injury not just to her play but to the art of Canadian drama as a whole. —MARK CHAMBERS

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The revolution in romance novels

By Anne Collins

Leah slipped over onto her other side and stared at the wood paneling. So many men! ... She couldn't have Jakob here the afternoon and Bob in the evening. So what was she doing in bed with Bob? Look! Now—from the novel

Obscure Season by Carla A. Nappes

Leah's last name is Bradstreet. She is 35 years old. She runs her own successful restaurant in Saratoga Springs, N.Y. She is not a virgin—in fact, she is sleeping with nine old teenage home-town Bob as well as with Jakob, an exquisitely beautiful ballet star. She is independent, hot-tempered, not entirely gorgeous and rather lustful. Such a character would not merit special attention in any context other than the one in which she appears: between the leather-bound covers of a new line of romance novels called *Finding Mr. Right*, introduced by Avon Books in February. Seven new romance novels will air their wares by the end of 1983, with two appearing this month alone. While the other new imprints may not have loosened their conventions as much as *Finding Mr. Right*, the classic features of old-fashioned romance—the innocent and virginal heroine, the rich, masterful hero and the chaste genitalia kiss—are largely banished from their pages.

The influence on the new 1980s style of romance are many: changed attitudes toward sex; market research on the sexual desires of romance readers; and an unprecedented flurry of competition among publishers for feminine hearts and, especially, dollars. The outcome is a publishing onslaught in April: the days of the field, Toronto-based Harlequin Enterprises Ltd., introduced its first series edited by the United States, called, appropriately, *American Romance*; to add to its three British and Canadian-edited lines. This month Harlequin's major competitor, Bantam, is introducing a new staff with *Intimate Moments*. At the same time, the U.S. paperback giant Bantam is making its second attempt to crack the market with a well-researched entry called *Lovequest*. New American Library's *Rapture Romance*

are already on the racks, along with Avon's *Finding Mr. Right*. In August Dell will attempt to expand its market share by introducing a longer, meatier version of its successful *Candlelight Romance* line, called *Destiny Romance*. And in October Avon will publish a real first in the business with *To Please and to Satisfy*, a series of romances that start at the point where the happily ever afters leave off marriage.

Romance fiction is hardly respectable in any literary sense but it has become

able to launch Biltmore and quickly grab 30 per cent of the market.

By 1982, romance publishing resembled the frantic franchising schemes of the expanded National Hockey League—not enough talented editors or talented writers but lots of dreams in the publisher's part to cash in on an extremely lucrative proposition. According to the U.S. trade magazine *Publishers Weekly*, no fewer than 16 brands were vying for the romance readers' attention, each with four to six releases a month. By the end of 1983 (there will be a total of at least 27 imprints on the racks).

Our hot and heavy theme has been the mother of innovation in the burgeoning romance business—sex. Readers and editors alike tend to refer to it more circumspectly as sensuality, spiciness or sensuality. Whatever it is called, it is not limited at between the lines anymore but described in full and lingering detail. A tip sheet for writers of the new *Rapture* line advises: "We don't want to know that his teeth ground her, we want to know that the rough feel of his callused fingertips as he wonderfully explored the outline of her face with featherlike caresses set her trembling as no sensualist and inexpressible ecstasies could have."

Heightened sensuality was very much on romance expert Kathryn Falk's mind when she co-edited *How to Write a Romance and Get It Published*, the first "how to" anthology in the field, to be released next month. As it refers to editor Vivian Stephens of Harlequin's *American Romance* romances: what amounts to a sensuality training course to get writers in the mood for love. Stephens advises long, perfumed baths, enmeshes of silk or satin and break-out flows-by-the-typeprinter. In the same book, author Diana Kinzel Vitek quotes a long love scene on a month's beach from one of her 34 published novels and confesses that halfway through, "I interrupted the writing... to induce my husband Vitek writes in a state of bliss."

Dell's *Candlelight Romance* was the first line of books to meet the readers' expressed desire for sexier, spicier books introduced in 1982, it inspired strong brand loyalty in readers. The series, says Vivian Lee Jennings, editor of



An American Romance cover illustration, apocryphal

the fastest-growing segment of the huge paperback book business last year's sales amounted for an astounding 60 per cent of all paperback books sold in North America. Only four years ago the market belonged to Harlequin, then easily celebrating the 50th anniversary as the inventor of the brand-name romance with 60 per cent of the existing market. At that time the huge publisher had no desire to change its long-suffering friends of hard-core romance. But in 1978 Harlequin decided to take over its own distribution in the United States and it dropped its former associate, Pocket Books. Pocket Books had then been listed as pocket expertise in selling romance that it was

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"The uncertainty in the world oil situation creates a problem for Canada – or is it an opportunity?"

John Stoik

President, Chief Executive Officer, Gulf Canada Limited

The National Energy Program and Federal/Alberta pricing policy were conceived when world crude oil prices were leaping upward and expected to do so through the 80's. With unstable world prices today, both policies have been overrun by history. Now Canada has a fundamental choice.

We can regard the crude price decreases as a problem that must somehow be manipulated by governments to provide short-term protection for existing vested interests, including those of governments and the petroleum industry.

Or we can see them as an opportunity to introduce basic policy changes; to remove the 75 per cent ceiling on old Canadian oil and let prices for all domestic production move to world levels – up or down; to re-examine industry/government revenue sharing positions and taxation policies; to reconsider the discriminatory aspects of the NEP and develop an approach that treats all players fairly.

This second choice is the more difficult of the two because it will require a longer term view and a greater degree of co-operation among the various players than has recently been the case.



John Stoik

Three years ago, Canada's precarious energy situation stood at the top of opinion polls as a big public worry.

With the current world-wide surplus of oil and producing countries cutting prices, the spectre of oil shortages is fading in Canadians' minds. Today, we are [quite understandably] more fretful about jobs, inflation, and our own personal future than about oil self-sufficiency. But the surplus that is causing the price fluctuations may be short-lived. And until Canada becomes self-sufficient in oil, we will continue to be subject to the

whims of others while we have oil reserves of our own – some just waiting to be developed – some still waiting to be discovered.

New policies are needed

Because the current international oil situation has also forced many of the fundamental principles and expectations of the National Energy Program it is obvious that Canadian energy policies need review and revision.

Decisions will be made that will affect Canada's ability to achieve oil self-sufficiency and the petro-

leum industry's ability to help get the Canadian economy moving again, through investment.

At Gulf Canada, we believe these decisions hold down to a fundamental choice.

Alternative #1 – manipulate the existing policies and formulae

In the short-term it may be possible to fiddle further with the National Energy Program and pricing formulae to provide short-term protection for existing vested interests, including those of



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governments and the petroleum industry.

This will shield the industry from the buffeting of the open market and in the short term protect government revenues.

But it will condemn us to yet another round of lengthy negotiations and yet another set of complex regulations that, among other things, ultimately distort consumer prices. It will also prolong the uncertainty that keeps pushing the achievement of oil self-sufficiency for Canada further and further into the future.

Alternative #2 – a new opportunity for economic growth

The second alternative, and the one we favour, is to look upon falling crude prices as an opportunity.

An opportunity to introduce basic policy changes, including removing the 75 per cent ceiling on old Canadian oil and letting the prices for all

oil produced in Canada move to world levels – up or down.

An opportunity to re-examine industry/government revenue sharing positions and the front and back load that have been dampening the petroleum industry's ability to make a contribution to economic recovery.

An opportunity to reconsider the discriminatory aspects of the National Energy Program including eliminating the grant system and replacing it with an approach that treats all of the players equitably.

This second choice is the more difficult of the two because it requires a longer term view – recognition of the ongoing importance of oil and gas to Canada and the world, recognition of the importance of oil self-sufficiency and security of supply. It requires a willingness on the part of the industry to go on exploring and "banking" reserves in anticipation of a return to world price levels that will make production economically attractive.

On the part of governments it requires recognition that the loss in revenues from reducing or eliminating oppressive taxes would be more than offset by increased revenues resulting from economic recovery.

Most important, it requires a greater degree of co-operation among the various players than has recently been the case.

Our economy, as a trading nation is interlocked with the world market. Isolating ourselves from the influences of world pricing is an artificial protection for which eventually we all will have to pay.

On the other hand, we can see that energy resource development, if sensibly harnessed in a collective effort, can help get our economy moving again. At Gulf Canada, the combination of our outstanding hydrocarbon resource base, our highly experienced people and our financial capability positions us to play an important and growing role in this energy resource development. Any change for the better in the external environment would allow us to make an even greater contribution.

It is for all of these reasons that we favour the second alternative.

If you would like to know more about Gulf Canada's role in the Canadian economy write for a copy of our 1982 Annual Report to:

Bob Penner
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GULF CANADA LIMITED

the weekly industry newsletter *Big Money Girl*, is still "the only romance line guaranteed to tell you if many bookshelves on the same day the shipment is received." The successful formula of *Woman* was not based solely on sex, according to Jennings: "Fudge does have chocolate in it, but it's not all chocolate. Fudge has sex in there, yes, but it's how you cook it. There were elements of humor and suspense. The books were fresher and more contemporary than the standard Harlequin and the first Silhouette. Destiny and then Jane's first line, *Second Chance*, at Love—which features older and more experienced heroines, sometimes divorced or widowed—really brought us into the 1980s."

The classic staples of the market are still the "sweet romances." Jennings, who owns and operates six bookstores in her home town of Kansas City, analyzes romance trends in her newsletter and devised and sold the new concept of married love stories to Jane. But she still refuses to open her mail-order package of Harlequin Romances each month. "They are tried-and-true staples, the staple of romance," says Jennings. "Comfort food—that's what they are." But, says Karen Siskin, New York-based editor in chief of Silhouette Books, "even the sweet romances now depict realistic situations, what women and society have gone through, how we have changed and how the relationships between men and women have changed."

The change has been startlingly swift, says Alice Taylor, a Canadian writer who published seven books with Harlequin before switching to Silhouette this year. Just five years ago, when she first began to read the books in order to figure out how to write them, the heroines were at least 10 years younger than the hero and worked at such traditionally female jobs as writing and teaching. "And the heroines," says Taylor, "were all fabulously wealthy Greek shipping magnates. Now there is a little more realism. They do not have to be Greek gods."

As well, more of the women have lives of their own. In *Blindfolded Contender* by Pat Wellman (one of *Woman* Moments' first releases), the heroine owns her own trucking company—and falls desperately in love with the chief contract negotiator for the local truckers' union. The ultimate twist on the old formula is that the man gives up his career in order to enter the happy ending. Certainly a different romantic dream is at work here: he has become a perfect male feminist whose goals understanding is mixed with wild passion.

With longer, more realistic books becoming popular, the romance novel is moving steadily closer to mainstream.

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FILMS

Big Brother opens an eye in the sky

BLUE THUNDER

Directed by John Badham

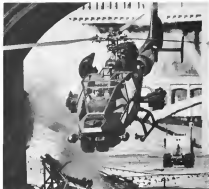
The star of *Blue Thunder* is both a title character and its most sophisticated special effect, a helicopter equipped with complex audio and video surveillance powers and mercilessly destructive weapons. The machine, which looks like a mutant insect, has cost the U.S. government \$2 million and it is intended to keep track of terrorists and assorted perils during the upcoming Los Angeles Olympics. But police-captain pilot Murphy (Roy Scheider) and his roving buddy Lymanwood (Daniel Sayers) know better. They accidentally see a live assassin sing and then shoot a woman, a member of an urban-violence task force. When she later dies from her wounds, the conspirators connect a phony story about her slaying Murphy, over a parade route as played by Scheider, discovers a shred of paper from the dead woman's briefcase which eventually establishes that the government assassinated her to prevent her from talking. *Big Brother* is not only watching—he is also actively involved.

The makers of *Blue Thunder* have not so much told a story as followed the prevailing manufacturing survey that now, to a great extent, determine what is or is not filmed for mass consumption. The film has all the necessary ingredients: a new and unusual special effect, a supposedly sympathetic Vietnam veteran, a lone interest, plenty of chaos, a sprinkling of foul words, a glibby landscape, the appeal to public paranoia about government and a sound track to rumble over the dead. There is no denying that *Blue Thunder* is expertly made and sensationally gripping. With its turn-of-a-disc closer through the air and on the ground and its state-of-the-art video and audio prowess, it is an almost certain box office success. But there is a catchline behind it that cannot be obscured by its flashy camera work and jolting editing: after realizing that the movie, like the terrifying copier, has no soul. *Blue Thunder* does, however, have more personality than Roy Scheider, and it becomes difficult

to stare about someone in peril who seems half-dead anyway. Even the villain (a marvelously cold-blooded Malcolm McDowell), who froths in Vietnam with Murphy, at least elicits a visceral response.

This disturbed Vietnam veteran, now a staple of U.S. movie plots, has worn out its dramatic usefulness. The cliché cheapens the experience of Vietnam because it is constantly trotted out for profit; the stereotype should be locked

away. *Blue Thunder* is a movie that has often been caricatured (*Where Life Is A Nightmare*) and parts of the 1979 version of *Dracula* (Badham's talent is spectacularly evident in *Blue Thunder*). But all his feeling and sensitivity seem to have mischievous been tucked away somewhere. Instead, there is an assiduous attitude taken toward the material an apparent attempt to dunk through each scene so that the viewer will not have time to think, reflect and thus feel *Cor-*



The Blue Thunder helicopter: a revolution that cannot be obscured by flashy camera work

away and given to Brian Dorn for safekeeping. Murphy, according to his boss (the late Warren Oates in a feisty performance), already had a headslave just a month ago, in the shadow of the script that seems there will be more tension. Will he crack up before he awakes his pal, leaves the white to the government and saves the day? The cigar smoke from media story conferences is almost palpable when the script winds him a girlified (Candy Clark) who will come in handy during the final chase sequence.

The director, John Badham, has previously shown glimmers of talent (*Star-*

twily anyone trying to do just that would suffer how under the fan-belts to Vietnam war. The technique is merely intended to work as the director's associations with Vietnam? If it happened there, it must have been horrible, especially for Murphy.

The look of *Blue Thunder*, similar to last year's *Blue Thunder*, is endlessly ravishing. John Alasea has shot so many million scenes over Los Angeles and there are so many twinkling lights that the eye is dazzled while the brain remains engaged. *Blue Thunder* is truly an aptitude for the masses.

—LAURENCE OTTOLE



Rigwood and Strauss: It's one thing to be a cat expert, another to be shaped

A headache in three dimensions

SPACEHUNTER: ADVENTURES IN THE FORBIDDEN ZONE
Directed by Lambert Johnson

Columbia Pictures is promoting *Spacehunter: Adventures in the Forbidden Zone* as the first expensive 3-D feature backed by a major Hollywood studio. The advertisements also contend that it is the first to have "3-D" sound and the first to use the 3-D process to produce a sophisticated, crystal-clear image. The film's budget of \$12 million versus the first claim, but the second is debatable. As for the last price of paffery, it is utterly untrue. *Spacehunter* is a primitive piece of merchandise—an unaided to the intelligence—and is meant just to increase popcorn sales. At least in last year's shoddy *Friday the 13th, Part IV* in 3-D, the images were watchable, in this movie the screen is a continual dark blur as the audience sits cross-eyed behind polarizing glasses.

It is one thing to be cross-eyed and another to be stapled, but to be made both in a meretricious experience. The plot concerns an intergalactic bounty hunter named Wolf (Peter Strauss) out to earn 1,000 "megapixels" for reviewing three earbanging dancin' from a distant planet ruled by the Overdog (Michael Ironside). With his trusty android be-sonnes on Trina Eleven and fights various Rilly Potty monsters, a group of Bernadette Women who seem to have

been cut from the pages of *Penthouse*, and what appear to be a few rejects from *The Road Warrior*. After the sad-sad (André Marcon) blows her re-true pretty conceals, Wolf is aided in his quest by one of Trina Eleven's teen-agers, Niki (Molly Ringwald), who leads him through the Forbidden Zone. At one point, they are walking, thrusting and to death, across a desert and Wolf quotes the *Cat in the Hat*, "Water, water, everywhere/Not a drop to drink." He informs Niki that it comes down a "space." Because they have been quarantined for years after a plague, they do not know about ponies on Trina Eleven. The language has been quarantined as well. "We have blood less how," explains one of its inhabitants, as he refers to an injury.

The banishment of *Spacehunter* and its winking how would surely have been merely boring without the headbanging 3-D. And, as the spunky Niki, Ringwald would have enhanced the proceedings more if her face had been in focus. But even when it is most audaciously deployed, the 3-D process still does not allow for reasonable clarity, density and lighting. And nobody has yet made a comfortable pair of 3-D glasses. The process is also self-limiting to emphasize the 3-D effect, objects and scenes must be placed in a certain way, usually one behind the other, making itself nearly almost impossible. Unless some outstanding technical developments appear from around the corner, 3-D remains a white elephant in a way, it is entirely suited to the lumbering, ludicrous *Spacehunter*.

—LAURENCE O'TOOLE

TELEVISION

Quiz kids in trouble

Banners and lights, quick fingers and nimble memories are the tools of combat for 40 high school students gathered in Toronto this week from Barbados, A.I.A., to Stephenville, Nfld. the hostess, Toronto's own participating in the national finals of CBC TV's *Jeopardy!*, the network's weekly quiz show. However, it is almost certain that these "finals" really are the end. If a recommendation made quietly in the upper echelons of the CBC three weeks ago is not rescinded, this year's ritual will be the last for the 22-year-old show, which is the only CBC program produced by individual stations coast to coast.

The recommendation to cancel *Jeopardy!* for the Top was a result of audience research, which revealed that the show was reaching a primarily one-to-six audience instead of teenagers. The 22 separate productions have a respectable audience across the country of 386,000, but they are not the right kind of people, says CBC TV's network program director, Trina McQueen. "The program has always come out of the children's department and is designed to appeal to young people, which it is not doing," said McQueen. "We are trying to find a show that will do the same thing for the right people."

However, the show was never in-

Stewart: not enough teenage viewers?



needed to reach only a younger audience, says Randy Stewart, the show's national producer for the past 16 years. "The show is not for teenagers," he said. "If I wanted to reach teenagers, I would use cartoons or comedy—anything but a public affairs show like this one." The last hope for the show, says Stewart, is a viewer protest. Already, the CBC has received about 800 letters and petitions, representing about 4,000 people.

Indeed, dozens of *Jeopardy!* for the Top have always displayed loyalty and dedication to the show. In Barbados, teacher James Castwell instigated a credit course in *Jeopardy!* training for students. Long hours of work over the encyclopedia, contest drilling—a good team does as much as five hours of work a week—and after training with the official banner system kits have paid off for his students. In Toronto this week Castwell will lead a team into the national finals for the third time.

Beyond providing the thrill of competition for its participants, the show has also elicited strong community response. Said Wayne Foster, coach of this year's Nova Scotia team: "When you knock off the educational element, there is so much strong community feeling behind these kids that you would be robbing a lot of people of some real excitement. When we were in Newfoundland two years ago, one of our kids was having a wooden carving and the other took a look at him and said: 'Wait a minute. I've seen you on television. You're one of the kids on *Jeopardy!*.' He even knew his name. You can't say there is no following out there."

The social element is, according to Castwell, just as important for the students as any educational element of the television exposure. "It is one of the very few vehicles for getting kids from all the provinces and regions together for a week, based on some real accomplishment," he said. "You cannot imagine what a thrill it is for the kids to find others just like themselves from other parts of Canada. At the end of the week I have to drag them individually onto the plane. You can't say that is not good for Canadian citizenship."

When the participants return home from the national finals, they attain varying degrees of notoriety. Ryan Dixon Badger, 17, a three-year veteran of Foster's Nova Scotia team. "Finally the people here are beginning to notice what the *Jeopardy!* team is doing. But there is still a way to go before we are as popular as the football team."

For producer Stewart, the main event—the battle between the viewers and the cut team—has just begun. If the protest fails, the hundreds of students across the country may have to settle for Trivial Pursuit.

—PAUL McQUEEN

Fleur de Fleurs



NINA RICCI PARIS

No smut, no women, no show

By Allan Fotheringham

You can seduce a man before he goes, perhaps even seduce him upon occasion, but you can't do either in front of his wife.

—Garnett Coughlin, 1941, longtime mayor of Winnipeg

We live in times, long times, buffeted by the winds of a shifting society, whipped by changing standards, shored by altered rules of the sexes—all these or facets of them. It's hard to keep an institution intact, as the church, the university, medicine and the law all know. Women

now go into the locker rooms after the game to interrogate naked athletes, and the personal-encounter accounts in *Playgirl* are just as steamy as those in the male skin magazines. When you let democracy loose, it spills into the bedrooms and right out the other side. The girls at the office can still hold a shower for the rest to see, but the country's most published stag party couldn't stand the pressure of the times and expired with a grand flourish.

We are referring here to the death a few days ago of the spinsterhood and outrageous Beer and Skits, an entrenched Winnipeg tradition for 50 years that will be no more—at least in the present acceptable form. For a half-century now the male elite of the Prairies' most solid town have donned their way into the "bluest satirical revue in North America," content that no one will be spared and no one will squeal. Shindiggers, judges and politicians and plutocrats all down to the tumbling repair of draft beer, penis and curried beef sandwiches, taking their kumps and being called all sorts of abusive labels, none of them deserved. It is the Winnipeg Pious Club's major contribution to Canadian culture, the only performing arts group in the land never in revolve—in it proudly presides—a Canada Council grant.

Winnipeg, first of all, should be applauded. It squats, huddled against the wind, on the edge of the hillside table. Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Saskatoon News*.

that passes for topography. It is rough-bewn but stable—in the sense of being secure. The grasps and straws have left for elsewhere. It is not concerned with being nervous, ribs Calgary, burlesque Edmonton or hot-tub-bath Vancouver. Everything in Winnipeg is old, including its houses, its weather and its traditions. It is still the only city in the country with ghettoes: the Ukrainians, the Germans, the Jews, the Ukrainians, the Ukrainians. Beer and Skits, demonstrating its democracy, far decades has shivered them all.



In the matter of taste there is no room for argument. What is one man's meat is another man's poison. To simplify the matter for our show, there will be no meat, no religion, no women on the stage of Beer and Skits. —Nathan H. Kamenetz (founding director), 1998

Nate Zigmans was a glitzy Winnipeg Tribune critic who was the founding Moses of Beers and Skits. The whole thing sprang from a wave of satirical writings and performances that broke upon Winnipeg in the early 1930s. The commercial theatre had collapsed, and enthusiastic amateurs moved in. What evolved was the Sock and Buskin Club, a collection of certified loonies, who then passed on the tattooed torch to the Pious Club's Beer and Skits. Nate's famous "School of Hum Acting" It was with the satirical revue team of Beer and Skits that John Hirsch, now heading the Stratford Festival, and Canadian classical figure Tom Hendry convinced Winnipeg to revise its scripts

theatre. Zim died, appropriately, in 1961 on the afternoon of Beer and Skits. The show, of course, went on, and he is now commemorated in the annual Zigmans Award, the Nobel Prize of B&S, a poster ring containing 90 silver dollars, which was bestowed by the late Tommy Tweed, the distinguished CBC actor and former cast member.

Satire is a sort of glass wherein beholders do discover everybody's face but their own.

—Jonathan Swift

Eric Wells, the digne and conscience of Winnipeg journalism (meeting those who are secure in their superiority deriving from the Dulce tradition and have never had any need of straying elsewhere), is the major influence in the belief that 50 years is far enough to push a good idea. He thinks we have run out of gas, that "the whole value system of political and social satire has eroded into lampoonery." Winnipeg takes its satire seriously. The Sunday breakfast after B&S is devoted to a serious critique of the slots, conducted by Chief Provincial Court Judge Harold O'Lea, who hands down bouquets and rebukes over the traditional kippers, scrambled

eggs and potatoes—pounded by the Black Death, a drink composed of equal parts port and brandy. Wells, a fan of the Black Death, still believes in the ritual laid down by Zim: no meat, no religion, no women.

Since in the 1980s only the middle one is ignored, the slandering of the boys has been doomed to failure. The punch-armed NDP government of Manioba generally bypasses the affair, since it is not allowed to laugh. The Winnipeg newspapers, as are all Canadian newspapers, are now filled 50 per cent with ladies, and some now forbid their husbands to attend. When star performers were told to stay home, for unnamed retaliation, the greatest stag party in the land was doomed.

Take hope. The less rigorous Ottawa equivalent, once stag, now has females both in audience and onstage, and the level of raucousness has severely lessened. This is known as democracy and spreading the blame. It all works out in the end.

Some things just take your breath away.



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